

## READ THE WORLD

Readers International brings you today's world literature. Each hardcover volume, by subscription, is just £4.75. (regularly to £9.95)

**W**ar in Lebanon: a young woman falls to a sniper's love, then to his bullet. *The Story of Zahra* scandalised the Arab world by telling how Muslim women *really* live behind the taboos and traditions. That this book was written in the Arab world is unusual—that a Shiite Muslim woman wrote it is quite extraordinary. The author, Hanan al-Shaykh, speaks with authority and sensitivity about sexuality, war and religion in the world's most divided society. "A haunting and chilling study of the fatal fascination of violence," says the *Observer*. The *Sunday Times* called it "subversive truthfulness".

**F**rom Brazil, Antônio Torres' *The Land* brings us the harsh, lyrical world of the Backland region, whose peasants survive with grim humour, and whose children long for the phantom riches of São Paulo. This modern Brazilian classic on the conflict between the rural and the urban now comes into English for the first time.

Next to Africa and the satirical *Laugh-to-Cry*, as the great Congolese novelist Henri Lopez lampoons the supreme African dictator—Amin, Bokassa, Mobutu, all in one—who moves overnight from the barracks to the Presidential Palace. Funny but searing: Lopez' satire bites with anger and sadness at Africa's burden of butcher-clowns.

**ALREADY LAUNCHED** by readers like you: Antonio Skármeta's *I Dreamt the Snow Was Burning*, "the most accomplished piece of literature to come out of Chile since Pinochet took power"—*Village Voice*; My Merry Mornings by Ivan Klíma, "charming and comic stories about Prague, irrepressibly cheerful and successfully written"—*Financial Times*; Osvaldo Soriano's *A Funny Dirty Little War* (Argentina)—"feisty and bawling, rooted in the reality of the nation"—*NY Times*; Bk Rev. Poland Under Black Light by Janusz Anderman—"an honest and powerful voice...he undercuts the lies of one side and the mythology of the other"—*New Statesman*; *Fools for Ndebele* (S. Africa), "intricate and subtle...unusual depth"—*LA Times*.

### READERS INTERNATIONAL

8 Strinhard Gardens, London NW3 4NY

Please begin my subscription to RI's series with *The Story of Zahra* at the £4.75 subscriber price plus 75p for postage. Send RI's latest book at the same price every other month. At any time I may cancel simply by writing you.

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

TOWN \_\_\_\_\_

CODE \_\_\_\_\_

COUNTRY \_\_\_\_\_

☐ £5.50 (17 overseas) to Readers International is enclosed. (North American subscribers, please send US\$9.95/Can\$12.50, incl. postage, to RI Subscriber Service Dept., P.O. Box 959, Columbia, LA 71418.)

**SPECIAL SAVINGS:** Prepay a year's subscription for six books at £3.75 each plus 75p postage.  
☐ I enclose my payment for £27 inland, US\$48, Can\$68, £35 sterling elsewhere.

**How RI Selects Books:** Literary merit is the first consideration of RI's editors and advisors. Many of these works were initially banned at home or written in exile: RI is committed to publishing literature in danger. Each is current, from the past 10 years. Each is new to readers here—although many have been acclaimed in European editions. Subscribe now and give these powerful writers a voice in English, all at a very modest price.



# THE GUARDIAN WEEKLY

Vol. 135 No. 11 Week ending September 14, 1986

## Goodbye to the summit?

**THE** Soviet leader Mr Gorbachev was still speaking this week as if he expected his proposed summit meeting with President Reagan to take place. He seemed unaware that by permitting the KGB to arrest an American reporter, Mr Nicholas Daniloff, and charge him with espionage he had virtually souped hopes that it could go ahead. The allegations against Mr Daniloff were widely seen as a frame-up and Mr Reagan said on Monday that "Whatever the Soviet motives — whether it is to intimidate enterprising journalists or to trade him for one of their spies that we caught red-handed — this action violates the standards of civilized international behaviour."

"The continuing Soviet detention of an innocent American is an outrage. Through several channels we've made our position clear — the Soviet Union is aware of how serious the consequences will be for our relations if Nick Daniloff is not set free. I call upon the Soviet authorities to act responsibly and quickly so that our two countries can make progress on the many other issues on our agenda, solving existing problems instead of creating new ones. Otherwise, there will be no way to prevent this incident from becoming a major obstacle in our relations."

Mr Daniloff's arrest smacks of potty revenge for his role at a Moscow press conference in April, when he led Western protests against a vicious attack in the Soviet media upon another American correspondent. Mr Daniloff's insistence on raising the issue and condemning it as unworthy led, for the first time in Moscow, to the press conference slipping out of Soviet control.

The Washington Post

## An American Hostage

**THE** SOVIETS who took the American journalist Nicholas Daniloff hostage last week have now compounded the original outrage by charging him with espionage and announcing that he will be tried as a spy. Mr. Daniloff, the Moscow correspondent of U.S. News & World Report, was kidnapped by the Soviet government, the one that spends so much of its time complaining that its benign and peaceful purposes in this world go woefully unacknowledged by the United States.

The talk coming out of Moscow has been uncommonly cynical, even by Kremlin standards. Its spokesmen have taken to parody in describing the various legal "protections" Mr. Daniloff will get and in putting forward the preposterous view that this trial, if it occurs, will have the purpose of discovering the truth. This imitation due process is a farce. So are the Kremlin's unconvincing lamentations that the United States has let a little matter get in the way of resolving the great life-and-death issues that confront and divide the superpowers. If Mr. Gorbachev & Co. wanted to get on with the business currently being negotiated between this country and the U.S.S.R. they would not be holding Nick Daniloff hostage.

Mr. Daniloff has been imprisoned for nearly a fortnight. In that time the U.S. government, which began by speaking in a number of voices and not very coherently, has finally managed to get more coherence — and indignation — into its message. The president publicly warned the Soviets on Monday about the consequences of their hostage-taking. "But even" as the government toughens up, one can expect considerable numbers of people to go the other way. It is already being hinted that Mr. Daniloff may have violated some Soviet laws unconnected to the seizure of the package the authorities planted on him. As the Soviet system — its rules, habits and statutes — is fundamentally inimical to the practice of journalism as we understand that term in the West, it would be surprising if the Soviet authorities could not find some law to incriminate any journalist in Moscow who has been doing a good job.

What is important is that we in this country — for once — should not sink into the sea of doubt that often marks these hostage episodes. We do not need to go around looking for clues as to how some misguided action on the part of the United States impelled the Russians to do this. We don't need to buy the line that Nick Daniloff must have been doing something shady. We don't need to accept the idea that there is some rough equivalence between Mr. Daniloff and the apprehended Gennadi Zakharov.

Above all, we do not need to settle into that bemused state of mind whereby we subtly transform an outrage into a way of life, a kind of business-as-usual condition, letting the unjust imprisonment of this man become a kind of intermittent but semipermanent "issue" one that "loses all its urgency and its impact. The Soviets must be made to understand a) that there is a real price for this, and b) that it will get higher, not lower, with the passage of each day.



## KGB the only winner in the affair

By Gary Lee of The Washington Post

**MOSCOW** — When the KGB took American reporter Nicholas Daniloff to prison it undercut the campaign Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and his aides had launched to shore up Moscow's ragged relations with the United States and the Western press. In so doing, it gave the first real indication of how much power the state security organ wields in Soviet-American relations under the new Soviet leadership.

In the three-way struggle for influence with the party and the government, the KGB was the

had criticized Washington for failing to respond to his goodwill gestures and thus poisoning the atmosphere.

Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze had just rescheduled a canceled trip to Washington for talks with Secretary of State George P. Shultz. "We are seeking normal relations," Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadi Gerasimov told journalists. "This case should not affect our principle, which is to seek an improvement in U.S.-Soviet relations."

Efforts by Soviet officials to woo the Western press, too, had been going strong recently. With press conferences, briefings and improved contacts with Soviet officials, Moscow was seeking the Western press assistance in advertising the Kremlin's various proposals, particularly on arms control.

But on Aug. 22, the FBI arrested a Soviet employee of the United Nations in New York, Gennadi Zakharov, who had no diplomatic immunity. U.S. security officials indicated they had been observing

him for an extended period of time. Western diplomats in Moscow widely agreed that the Daniloff arrest was a KGB retaliatory move for the FBI's arrest of Zakharov one week earlier, although it undoubtedly required approval of senior ministry and party officials.

To a Western observer in Moscow without knowledge of the factors that went into the decision to arrest Daniloff, it seems to reflect a subjugation of the political interest of the Soviet Communist Party and Foreign Ministry in working for more stable relations with the United States to that of the KGB in saving face, and perhaps recapturing an accused operative.

Many Western observers in Moscow view Daniloff's arrest as a contrived frame-up and say it follows more aggressive KGB operations abroad under Victor Chebrikov, who became director of the secret police two years ago. "It shows that the KGB under Gorbachev does not have a new look and resorts to the same old crude tactics," said a senior Western diplomat.

## INSIDE

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| Jill Tweedle on<br>dope addicts.... 4  | Bomb attacks<br>in Paris.....11           |
| Hope of vaccine<br>against Aids .... 5 | Survivors tell of<br>hijack ordeal.....15 |
| Attempt on life<br>of Pinochet ..... 6 | Europe's Left could<br>flush Nato .....16 |
| Jews massacred<br>at synagogue... 7    | How KGB sets up<br>its victims .....17    |



## New visas will heap injustice on injustice

Your leader (September 7) correctly condemns as racist the imposition of a five requirement on visitors from five Third World countries, in particular the Indian subcontinent. However, there is one particular consequence you ignore and, in so doing, underestimate the Kafka-like world of immigration control.

During the last few years I have, as an immigration lawyer, represented many men who have been refused entry to join their wives or fiancées. These have invariably been men from India, Pakistan, or Bangladesh who have been told that the "primary purpose" of their marriage is simply to live in the UK.

This notorious "primary purpose" rule has itself been rightly condemned as racist and an attack on traditional arranged marriages. The only way such refusal can be challenged is by an appeal to the Immigration Adjudicator. Unfortunately such appeals are heard in the UK, with the appellant usually about 6,000 miles away.

I have had numerous letters from Home Office ministers stating that the immigration appeal system is purposely designed for hearings in the absence of appellants. This renders it somewhat unusual even under the norms of British justice.

I have therefore advised appellants to fly to this country as

visitors to attend their own appeals, surely a legitimate enough reason for a visit. Nonetheless one of these men have been allowed in without several hours of questioning, often spread over several days. The fact that none of these men were actually sent back was due to local political campaigning and not to any legal process.

None was given a proper entry stamp, but were allowed in simply at the mercy of the Home Office and under threat of removal at any time.

Every one of those men who attended his appeal, won his case, whereas I understand the normal rate of victory is about 12 per cent. Now, because of the new visa requirements, none of them will ever get as far as this country. They will be told by the British high commissions what they are now told — incorrectly — by Heathrow immigration officers that a visit to attend one's own appeal is not a "bona fide" motive.

Of course, in theory, these men will then be able to appeal against the visa refusal, but these appeals will be heard in the UK in the absence of the appellants. And so it could go on ad infinitum.

Steve Cohen, Manchester.

The Government's visa solution to the appalling queues and condi-

tions at Heathrow airport's immigration controls is nothing less than a racist insult to the people of the New Commonwealth countries concerned.

The Home Office knows full well that the reasons lie not with a shortage of immigration staff but the racist nature of our immigration laws. If you're white from an EEC or Old Commonwealth country, you're welcome. If you're black

from the New Commonwealth, your only welcome is hours of waiting at Heathrow in a cramped room with no refreshments, yet more hours of degrading questions and a possible stay at Harmondsworth prison.

P. Shppard, West Midlands Industrial Language Training Service, Walsall.

## How Trotsky paved the way to justice for Stalin's victims

Geoffrey Robertson selects Nicolai Bukharin for rehabilitation in his article "The day of the mad dogs" (August 31). All the Bolsheviks falsely accused and murdered on Stalin's orders after the atrocious frame-up of the Moscow trials should be rehabilitated.

What sort of rehabilitation is it if Bukharin's political role and record is falsified with an analysis of the Moscow trials which is a sheer distortion of the true history for which documents and records abound?

The principal defendant in all three Moscow trials was Leon Trotsky. Leader of the left opposition, all of whose members were expelled from the party in 1927, Trotsky was deported from the USSR in 1929 and was living in exile in Norway in August 1938.

The main objective of the Moscow trials was the physical and political elimination of Trotsky and the left opposition. Zinoviev and Kamenev, chief among the accused on August 16, 1936, were selected by Stalin precisely because they had led the campaign against "Trotskyism" from the time they formed a secret faction with Stalin and Bukharin before Lenin's death in 1924. In 1928 they joined the left opposition. A year later they capitulated to Stalin and, at the 15th congress they recanted and were readmitted into the party and the central committee.

During their brief membership of the left opposition they explained how they had, with the utmost epiphany, strung together, torn out of context, criticisms by Lenin of Trotsky before the revolution in 1917, which were then published in the anti-Trotskyist slander campaign.

In October 1924 after the defeat of the left opposition they explained how they had, with the utmost epiphany, strung together, torn out of context, criticisms by Lenin of Trotsky before the revolution in 1917, which were then published in the anti-Trotskyist slander campaign.

Lord Gifford, (QC), Wellington Street, London WC2.

## Communist confessions

More than 40 years ago Herold Leask gave me a verbatim account of the Bukharin trial. I lent it to Churchill who returned it to Leask with much courtesy.

Contrary to his usual practice, he cannot have read it well or he would not have written of "the merciless but perhaps not needless purges," and of the "masterful Vishinsky." Leask had no doubts.

The trials were monstrous perversions and Vishinsky contemptible. A version edited by Boris Ponomarev may be seen at the British Museum. Doctor Levin confesses to the "murder" of Maxim Gorki by luring him to Moscow to catch pneumonia. As for Yegoda, head of the secret police, he can hardly have committed crimes to which Stalin was not party.

The trials must be taken in the context of the secret trials and execution of the leading generals, including Marshal Tukhachevsky. They were begun because two NKVD agents brought from Heydrich a dossier on Tukhachevsky which had been partly prepared by

of the German revolution, Stalin first presented his theory of "socialism in a single country." The politically logical consequences of this theory — fully supported by Bukharin, Zinoviev and Kamenev — were, "kulak get rich" and "socialism at a snail's pace."

Trotsky and his son Leon Sedov, leaders and organisers of the left opposition, rallied all the revolutionary elements in opposition to "socialism in a single country" and all its consequences. In Revolution Betrayed, first published in 1938, he wrote: "It is not a question of substituting one ruling clique for another, but of changing the very method of administering the economy and guiding the culture of the country. Bureaucratic autocracy must give place to Soviet democracy. A restoration of the right to criticism, and a genuine freedom of elections are necessary conditions for the further development of this country."

More than ever the fate of the October revolution was bound up with that of Europe and the whole world, he continued. "We are building socialism. A greater fact, however... is the preparation of a European and world revolution." It was Trotsky's defence of Marxism, and the perspectives and conquests of the October revolution, that provided the strength to continue his revolutionary struggle against Stalinism to the very day of his assassination on August 20, 1940, by Stalin's agents.

The foundation of the Fourth International as the party of world socialist revolution laid the basis for the rehabilitation of all the victims of Stalinist persecutions.

Vanesa Redgrave, The Workers Revolutionary Party, London E1.

## Refugees in the crossfire

While the world's press is engaged in absorbing defective work to trace the embarkation port of the ship that dumped Tamil refugees on the shores of Canada, a major tragic drama is about to unfold in the faraway Djibouti involving thousands of Ethiopian refugees.

In a circular signed by the Minister of Interior on July 23, refugees were told that they had "no future in Djiboutian soil" and that, in any case, the reasons that led them to leave their country had "ceased to exist," and as a result they "should no more be considered as refugees." Thus the government of Djibouti, in close consultation with the government of Ethiopia and the UNHCR, will start what the circular euphemistically calls "Voluntary Repatriation" of refugees as of September 1, 1986. This circular has caused fear and panic among the refugee community. Indeed, we have received several letters from refugees in Djibouti expressing the fear that they will be repatriated against their will.

It may be reassuring for a refugee not seeking repatriation to know the existence of a committee set up to examine individual requests for the continuation of asylum. However, that refugee would be forgiven for thinking upon reading the government circular, that her/his case has been prejudged. Furthermore, if an individual request for asylum is turned down, not only is there a right of appeal but the individual must leave the Djiboutian territory. Since all programmes of assistance for resettlement to third countries have been suspended, what choice is left?

The UNHCR should clarify its position regarding this planned repatriation and ensure that it does all in its power to ensure that no refugee is involuntarily repatriated.

F. H. Marjan, P. Waever, J. Barnabas, Guildford Street, London WC1.

## Unions agree on national minimum wage

THE Trades Union Congress in Brighton last week was a subdued affair which for the most part fell in with the wishes of its moderate leadership. It may not have advanced Labour's electoral prospects greatly, but at least it did not wreck the damage on the party which so many TUC gatherings have inflicted in the past.

The party leader, Mr Neil Kinnock, pleased the delegates with his plea for economic regeneration and was heard respectfully even when he suggested that a government run by him would not allow any sectional interest — including, presumably, the trade unions — to dictate policy. His emphasis on consensus to help the poor and to create jobs was interrupted by some of the skilled unions as a warning that pay would not be at the top of a Labour Government's agenda, and that there would not be unlimited resources to concede large wage settlements.

The conference even went along with the idea of a national minimum wage but avoided the tricky question of a national incomes policy, to which most union leaders remain implacably opposed even though it is an essential part of any scheme to improve the lot of the unemployed and the low-paid. Since earnings are already rising three times faster than prices, Mr Kinnock will have to state clearly, as he failed to do at Brighton, precisely what strategy the party would employ to deal with incomes.

A controversial demand for the phasing out of all nuclear power plants was defeated, though only by a narrow 60,000 votes (about one per cent). The TUC, which had previously supported the "balanced" development of all energy resources, including nuclear, set-

ted instead for a demand that all further nuclear development be frozen until a full-scale energy review has been carried out.

The nuclear controversy will resurface, however, at Labour's conference later this month, when the party will be asked to commit itself to phasing out all existing nuclear stations — a process that would take decades to complete. Hitherto the party has spoken only of a "diminishing" dependence on

nuclear sources or, at most, a "pause" pending a review of safety in the nuclear industry.

The leaders of the Liberal and Social Democratic Parties, who are at odds over whether or not to replace or update Britain's Polaris nuclear deterrent system, made light of their policy differences when they visited Nato headquarters in Belgium and stressed their commitment to strengthening Europe's contribution to its own defences. The Liberal leader, Mr David Steel, and his SDP counterpart, Dr David Owen, both made it clear that these defences would include a nuclear element. While this will please Dr Owen's party, which holds its annual conference next week, it may prove less palatable to the Liberals when they meet the following week.

The High Court rejected a claim that the former Home Secretary, Mr Leon Brittan, had acted unlawfully in authorising the tapping of the telephone of Mr John Cox, vice-president of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. The court was told, and Mr Justice Taylor accepted, that Mr Cox was a Communist and that it was proper

to tap his telephone. The court also found that Mr Brittan had acted lawfully in authorising the tapping of the telephone of Mr John Cox, vice-president of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. The court was told, and Mr Justice Taylor accepted, that Mr Cox was a Communist and that it was proper

to tap his telephone. The court also found that Mr Brittan had acted lawfully in authorising the tapping of the telephone of Mr John Cox, vice-president of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. The court was told, and Mr Justice Taylor accepted, that Mr Cox was a Communist and that it was proper

to tap his telephone. The court also found that Mr Brittan had acted lawfully in authorising the tapping of the telephone of Mr John Cox, vice-president of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. The court was told, and Mr Justice Taylor accepted, that Mr Cox was a Communist and that it was proper

to tap his telephone. The court also found that Mr Brittan had acted lawfully in authorising the tapping of the telephone of Mr John Cox, vice-president of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. The court was told, and Mr Justice Taylor accepted, that Mr Cox was a Communist and that it was proper

to tap his telephone. The court also found that Mr Brittan had acted lawfully in authorising the tapping of the telephone of Mr John Cox, vice-president of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. The court was told, and Mr Justice Taylor accepted, that Mr Cox was a Communist and that it was proper

to tap his telephone. The court also found that Mr Brittan had acted lawfully in authorising the tapping of the telephone of Mr John Cox, vice-president of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. The court was told, and Mr Justice Taylor accepted, that Mr Cox was a Communist and that it was proper

to tap his telephone. The court also found that Mr Brittan had acted lawfully in authorising the tapping of the telephone of Mr John Cox, vice-president of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. The court was told, and Mr Justice Taylor accepted, that Mr Cox was a Communist and that it was proper

to tap his telephone. The court also found that Mr Brittan had acted lawfully in authorising the tapping of the telephone of Mr John Cox, vice-president of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. The court was told, and Mr Justice Taylor accepted, that Mr Cox was a Communist and that it was proper

to tap his telephone. The court also found that Mr Brittan had acted lawfully in authorising the tapping of the telephone of Mr John Cox, vice-president of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. The court was told, and Mr Justice Taylor accepted, that Mr Cox was a Communist and that it was proper

to tap his telephone. The court also found that Mr Brittan had acted lawfully in authorising the tapping of the telephone of Mr John Cox, vice-president of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. The court was told, and Mr Justice Taylor accepted, that Mr Cox was a Communist and that it was proper

to tap his telephone. The court also found that Mr Brittan had acted lawfully in authorising the tapping of the telephone of Mr John Cox, vice-president of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. The court was told, and Mr Justice Taylor accepted, that Mr Cox was a Communist and that it was proper

to tap his telephone. The court also found that Mr Brittan had acted lawfully in authorising the tapping of the telephone of Mr John Cox, vice-president of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. The court was told, and Mr Justice Taylor accepted, that Mr Cox was a Communist and that it was proper

to tap his telephone. The court also found that Mr Brittan had acted lawfully in authorising the tapping of the telephone of Mr John Cox, vice-president of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. The court was told, and Mr Justice Taylor accepted, that Mr Cox was a Communist and that it was proper

to tap his telephone. The court also found that Mr Brittan had acted lawfully in authorising the tapping of the telephone of Mr John Cox, vice-president of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. The court was told, and Mr Justice Taylor accepted, that Mr Cox was a Communist and that it was proper

to tap his telephone. The court also found that Mr Brittan had acted lawfully in authorising the tapping of the telephone of Mr John Cox, vice-president of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. The court was told, and Mr Justice Taylor accepted, that Mr Cox was a Communist and that it was proper

to tap his telephone. The court also found that Mr Brittan had acted lawfully in authorising the tapping of the telephone of Mr John Cox, vice-president of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. The court was told, and Mr Justice Taylor accepted, that Mr Cox was a Communist and that it was proper

to tap his telephone. The court also found that Mr Brittan had acted lawfully in authorising the tapping of the telephone of Mr John Cox, vice-president of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. The court was told, and Mr Justice Taylor accepted, that Mr Cox was a Communist and that it was proper

to tap his telephone. The court also found that Mr Brittan had acted lawfully in authorising the tapping of the telephone of Mr John Cox, vice-president of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. The court was told, and Mr Justice Taylor accepted, that Mr Cox was a Communist and that it was proper

to tap his telephone. The court also found that Mr Brittan had acted lawfully in authorising the tapping of the telephone of Mr John Cox, vice-president of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. The court was told, and Mr Justice Taylor accepted, that Mr Cox was a Communist and that it was proper

to tap his telephone. The court also found that Mr Brittan had acted lawfully in authorising the tapping of the telephone of Mr John Cox, vice-president of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. The court was told, and Mr Justice Taylor accepted, that Mr Cox was a Communist and that it was proper

to tap his telephone. The court also found that Mr Brittan had acted lawfully in authorising the tapping of the telephone of Mr John Cox, vice-president of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. The court was told, and Mr Justice Taylor accepted, that Mr Cox was a Communist and that it was proper

to tap his telephone. The court also found that Mr Brittan had acted lawfully in authorising the tapping of the telephone of Mr John Cox, vice-president of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. The court was told, and Mr Justice Taylor accepted, that Mr Cox was a Communist and that it was proper

to tap his telephone. The court also found that Mr Brittan had acted lawfully in authorising the tapping of the telephone of Mr John Cox, vice-president of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. The court was told, and Mr Justice Taylor accepted, that Mr Cox was a Communist and that it was proper

to tap his telephone. The court also found that Mr Brittan had acted lawfully in authorising the tapping of the telephone of Mr John Cox, vice-president of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. The court was told, and Mr Justice Taylor accepted, that Mr Cox was a Communist and that it was proper

to tap his telephone. The court also found that Mr Brittan had acted lawfully in authorising the tapping of the telephone of Mr John Cox, vice-president of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. The court was told, and Mr Justice Taylor accepted, that Mr Cox was a Communist and that it was proper

to tap his telephone. The court also found that Mr Brittan had acted lawfully in authorising the tapping of the telephone of Mr John Cox, vice-president of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. The court was told, and Mr Justice Taylor accepted, that Mr Cox was a Communist and that it was proper

to tap his telephone. The court also found that Mr Brittan had acted lawfully in authorising the tapping of the telephone of Mr John Cox, vice-president of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. The court was told, and Mr Justice Taylor accepted, that Mr Cox was a Communist and that it was proper

to tap his telephone. The court also found that Mr Brittan had acted lawfully in authorising the tapping of the telephone of Mr John Cox, vice-president of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. The court was told, and Mr Justice Taylor accepted, that Mr Cox was a Communist and that it was proper

to tap his telephone. The court also found that Mr Brittan had acted lawfully in authorising the tapping of the telephone of Mr John Cox, vice-president of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. The court was told, and Mr Justice Taylor accepted, that Mr Cox was a Communist and that it was proper

to tap his telephone. The court also found that Mr Brittan had acted lawfully in authorising the tapping of the telephone of Mr John Cox, vice-president of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. The court was told, and Mr Justice Taylor accepted, that Mr Cox was a Communist and that it was proper

to tap his telephone. The court also found that Mr Brittan had acted lawfully in authorising the tapping of the telephone of Mr John Cox, vice-president of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. The court was told, and Mr Justice Taylor accepted, that Mr Cox was a Communist and that it was proper

to tap his telephone. The court also found that Mr Brittan had acted lawfully in authorising the tapping of the telephone of Mr John Cox, vice-president of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. The court was told, and Mr Justice Taylor accepted, that Mr Cox was a Communist and that it was proper

to tap his telephone. The court also found that Mr Brittan had acted lawfully in authorising the tapping of the telephone of Mr John Cox, vice-president of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. The court was told, and Mr Justice Taylor accepted, that Mr Cox was a Communist and that it was proper

to tap his telephone. The court also found that Mr Brittan had acted lawfully in authorising the tapping of the telephone of Mr John Cox, vice-president of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. The court was told, and Mr Justice Taylor accepted, that Mr Cox was a Communist and that it was proper

to tap his telephone. The court also found that Mr Brittan had acted lawfully in authorising the tapping of the telephone of Mr John Cox, vice-president of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. The court was told, and Mr Justice Taylor accepted, that Mr Cox was a Communist and that it was proper

to tap his telephone. The court also found that Mr Brittan had acted lawfully in authorising the tapping of the telephone of Mr John Cox, vice-president of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. The court was told, and Mr Justice Taylor accepted, that Mr Cox was a Communist and that it was proper

to tap his telephone. The court also found that Mr Brittan had acted lawfully in authorising the tapping of the telephone of Mr John Cox, vice-president of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. The court was told, and Mr Justice Taylor accepted, that Mr Cox was a Communist and that it was proper

to tap his telephone. The court also found that Mr Brittan had acted lawfully in authorising the tapping of the telephone of Mr John Cox, vice-president of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. The court was told, and Mr Justice Taylor accepted, that Mr Cox was a Communist and that it was proper

to tap his telephone. The court also found that Mr Brittan had acted lawfully in authorising the tapping of the telephone of Mr John Cox, vice-president of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. The court was told, and Mr Justice Taylor accepted, that Mr Cox was a Communist and that it was proper

to tap his telephone. The court also found that Mr Brittan had acted lawfully in authorising the tapping of the telephone of Mr John Cox, vice-president of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. The court was told, and Mr Justice Taylor accepted, that Mr Cox was a Communist and that it was proper

to tap his telephone. The court also found that Mr Brittan had acted lawfully in authorising the tapping of the telephone of Mr John Cox, vice-president of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. The court was told, and Mr Justice Taylor accepted, that Mr Cox was a Communist and that it was proper

to tap his telephone. The court also found that Mr Brittan had acted lawfully in authorising the tapping of the telephone of Mr John Cox, vice-president of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. The court was told, and Mr Justice Taylor accepted, that Mr Cox was a Communist and that it was proper

to tap his telephone. The court also found that Mr Brittan had acted lawfully in authorising the tapping of the telephone of Mr John Cox, vice-president of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. The court was told, and Mr Justice Taylor accepted, that Mr Cox was a Communist and that it was proper

to tap his telephone. The court also found that Mr Brittan had acted lawfully in authorising the tapping of the telephone of Mr John Cox, vice-president of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. The court was told, and Mr Justice Taylor accepted, that Mr Cox was a Communist and that it was proper

to tap his telephone. The court also found that Mr Brittan had acted lawfully in authorising the tapping of the telephone of Mr John Cox, vice-president of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. The court was told, and Mr Justice Taylor accepted, that Mr Cox was a Communist and that it was proper

for the security services to maintain vigilance over CND, which it viewed as Communist-penetrated and therefore subversive.

Though CND lost its case, it succeeded in establishing a major constitutional point: the right of the courts to review serious allegations about illegal telephone taps. Counsel for the Home Secretary had tried to persuade the court that national security precluded it from conducting any inquiry into

the legality or otherwise of a telephone tapping warrant. The judge disagreed. To accept that argument, he said, "would be to say that the court should never inquire into a complaint against a minister if he says his policy is to maintain silence in the interests of national security."

Vauxhall Motors, a subsidiary of General Motors, announced plans to shed 1,000 jobs at its car plants at Luton, in Bedfordshire, and Ellesmere Port on Merseyside. The company, which shed 1,700 jobs at its van division two months ago, made a record loss of £47 million last year and is now trying to cut its costs by 20 per cent.

A Pakistani family went into hiding to prevent their two-year-old daughter from being deported on the orders of the Home Office. The child, Khuram Azad, was adopted last year by Mr and Mrs Abdul Khalid and is the natural son of Mr Khalid's sister-in-law, who lives in Pakistan. The Home Office said this week it would review the case. It maintains, however, that "there has not been a genuine transfer of paren-

tal responsibility" (the adoption was affected in Pakistan) and that Khuram's natural parents were able to care for him. When the child was brought to Britain last year, immigration officials would only grant him temporary admission.

The Home Office said this week that "We have a particularly emotional instance here because we are talking about a child. But, in essence, it is no different from someone else settling in this country." The minister responsible for immigration, Mr David Waddington, emphatically denied that the Government was being heartless and accused the Khuram family of reneging on an agreement that they would take the child back to Pakistan.

An inquest on 65 people who died in an aircraft fire in Manchester last year was told that two engine defects had been recorded in the technical log of the Boeing 737 three days before one of its engines caught fire during take-off. An engineer said that, though an investigation failed to find anything wrong with the port engine, the plane was booked in for a more thorough examination. This was to have been conducted the day after the fire, in which most of the victims were trapped inside the burning cabin.

The inquest, which is expected to last at least two weeks, will also want to know why there was no winter in the fire hydrants near where the Boeing came to rest after its aborted take-off and why there was apparent confusion about the rendezvous points marked for the use of emergency services. The coroner, Mr Leonard Goodwin, said that while fire and ambulance services went in one of the prearranged points, the police went to another.

But reports that the West German Finance Minister would not be joining the G-5 meeting for an international attack on interest rates. Washington has been putting pressure on West Germany, and Japan, to boost their economies with joint cuts.

Better news on the economic front also helped interest in the dollar, which appreciated against sterling. New figures showed the employment rate in the US fell for the third successive month in August to 6.8 per cent — the lowest since January. This compared with forecasts of a moderate rise in unemployment because of the weakness in manufacturing.

Sir Robert shut the door on the hopes of nearly 100 miners whose case have been dealt with by industrial tribunals. He said they had been compensated and they would not return, but he promised to instigate a final review in the autumn of the remaining dismissals which fell outside these categories. In his tour of the coalfields, he said he formed the impression that miners did not feel as solidly about this matter as some of the leaders.

The chairman dealt with the procedure for closing uneconomic pits. These would remain the same, but he agreed that coal would have to be obtained from a smaller number of mines. Eight collieries have been closed so far this year, half of the closures agreed at local level. So far, 14,000 miners have signalled their intention of leaving or have left the industry this year.

Sir Robert said the decision to impose the pay increase was influenced by the mood of the miners he had met at the night collieries he had visited over the past two months. "They have been saying to me 'Ignore Mr Scargill — You are the gaffer. It is in your hands. Get on with it.' That has been the mood of the miners and we felt we had to take positive action."

The chairman dealt at length with the controversial question of dismissed miners, and made it clear that no dramatic developments could be expected. More

## New coal chief goes over Scargill's head

By Keith Harper

THE new chairman of British Coal, Sir Robert Haslam, has gone over the head of Mr Arthur Scargill in an attempt to make a fresh start in the industry and clear up much of the bad blood which still exists in the coalfields.

Without consulting the National Union of Mineworkers in advance, his first important act as chairman was to impose last year's disputed pay deal on the NUM. All NUM members will therefore be given an £8-a-week pay rise in their pay packets, back-dated to September 1, an act which Mr Scargill described as "diabolical".

The £8 rise has already been paid to the Union of Democratic Mineworkers. Some NUM members who worked during the 12-month coal strike, which collapsed in March last year, and who have paid some pension contributions, will be given retrospective increases for the period between November last year when the pay deal should have commenced, and this August.

Sir Robert said the decision to impose the pay increase was influenced by the mood of the miners he had met at the night collieries he had visited over the past two months. "They have been saying to me 'Ignore Mr Scargill — You are the gaffer. It is in your hands. Get on with it.' That has been the mood of the miners and we felt we had to take positive action."

The chairman dealt at length with the controversial question of dismissed miners, and made it clear that no dramatic developments could be expected. More

## Gold reaches three-year peak on hijack fear

By Margaret Pagano

GOLD has shot up to a new three-year peak prompted by fears of renewed US-Libyan tensions following the Korachi hijacking.

Speculation that the Libyans were involved with the hijacking was enough to trigger a sharp rise in the metal. The gold price, which had already broken through the \$400 an ounce level earlier in the week on fears for the world economy and the weak dollar, reached \$420.60 an ounce and sent prices of all gold mines, and other precious metals, rising. On the Johannesburg Stock Exchange gold shares hit new peaks.

On the London exchange, shares in Anglo American, taking their cue from Wall Street where the Dow Jones Industrial Index hit a new record, up 38.38 to 1,919.71. Dealers are now looking for the Dow to break the 2,000 level.

Hopes of concerted action on interest rates by the US and Japanese sparked a strong performance in the dollar on the foreign exchanges. News that the Japanese Finance Minister, Kiichi Miyazawa, was flying to Washington to meet his US counterpart, the Treasury Secretary, Mr James Baker, to discuss "mutual financial and economic affairs", prompted widespread speculation that the two governments are planning joint interest rate cuts. The meeting follows repeated requests from Mr Baker.

But reports that the West German Finance Minister would not be joining the G-5 meeting for an international attack on interest rates. Washington has been putting pressure on West Germany, and Japan, to boost their economies with joint cuts.

Better news on the economic front also helped interest in the dollar, which appreciated against sterling. New figures showed the employment rate in the US fell for the third successive month in August to 6.8 per cent — the lowest since January. This compared with forecasts of a moderate rise in unemployment because of the weakness in manufacturing.

## FOREIGN EXCHANGES

|             | Starting Rates<br>September 3 | Previous<br>Closing Rates |
|-------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------|
| Australia   | 2.4183-2.4240                 | 2.4240-2.4280             |
| Austria     | 21.02-21.05                   | 21.02-21.03               |
| Belgium     | 31.55-31.78                   | 31.55-31.78               |
| Canada      | 2.0581-2.0598                 | 2.0746-2.0775             |
| Denmark     | 11.62-11.64                   | 11.58-11.59               |
| France      | 10.95-10.97                   | 10.91-10.95               |
| Germany     | 3.074-3.079                   | 3.053-3.06                |
| Hong Kong   | 11.00-11.01                   | 11.07-11.08               |
| Ireland     | 1.1167-1.1177                 | 1.1105-1.1117             |
| Italy       | 2.110-2.112                   | 2.110-2.112               |
| Japan       | 231.02-232.20                 | 232.11-232.29             |
| Netherlands | 3.4-3.47                      | 3.41-3.46                 |
| Norway      | 10.84-10.95                   | 10.92-10.93               |
| Portugal    | 218.43-220.22                 | 219.04-219.28             |
| Spain       | 200.93-203.21                 | 199.92-200.28             |
| Sweden      | 10.32-10.34                   | 10.31-10.31               |
| Switzerland | 2.819-2.823                   | 2.819-2.823               |
| USA         | 1.4955-1.4975                 | 1.4975-1.4984             |
| ECU         | 1.4806-1.4824                 | 1.4528-1.4541             |

FT 30 6hrrc index 1933-7 Gold 514.14



## Why should I be expected to feel sorry for these dopes?

MAYBE it's because I'm a Londoner that, arriving at Euston last weekend, I could tell the old slag blind-fold. Degrees warmer than anywhere else in the country, degrees smeller. The distinctive crunch of polystyrene underfoot and those inimitable Cockney-sparrah ripostes all around: off off you m-f or I'll alic your b'a off. What wit. What olde worlde charm.

I proceed to the Beeb for a prog. Afterwards, the studio telephone rings. Would I contribute to a worthy anti-drugs campaign being run by a local radio station? Something brief and succinct like 'IT says drugs are wrong up! I say no thanks and hear the sharp intake of breath by my caller, who now believes I approve of drugs, want everyone on them, am hooked myself, probably a pusher. I go home and listen to the plangent wails of four friends whose six-foot children are about to break out, demand money with menaces, messacre their loved ones and scramble their brains on account of drugs. Then a neighbourhood six-footer appears at the door end rambles on for several ones about the druggie joys of Glastonbury, Stonehenge, Aberystwyth and somewhere be-nighted in Normandy, meanwhile clicking his eyes about in their sockets like red snooker balls. Later, I watch that drug commercial on TV — actor tastefully pestered in green Max Factor, whining 'I can handle it' while hoping like mad for an Esky

card. And so to bed, choked. As a society, our attitude to drugs is pathetic to the point of lunacy. On the one hand we have the punitive brigade led by the Mesdames Whitehouse, Reagan and Thatcher who believe, from their ivory towers of invincible ignorance, that the odd spiff makes you a drug fiend who ought to be hanged and, on the other hand, the caring understanding army of mournful liberals who keep on about the sadness of it all, blame everything from unemployment to the Bomb and treat the drug-sodden as if they were invaluable

pieces of Ming porcelain deserving of huge lumps of our money and attention for their rehabilitation. Misunderstood, somehow. Glemorous, somehow. Myself, I am in neither camp and think both ludicrously wide of the mark. Drugs screw you up? You can handle it? Frankly, I don't give a toss. The point is, drugs screw up your Mum, your old man, your Nan, your aunts, your second cousin twice removed. Or else screw up your friends and neighbours, the people whose houses you break and enter, the kids whose precious bikes you steal, the old age pensioners whose savings you rip off. It's us, metle, who get screwed up, who can't handle it. Us.

For the plain fact is that the sheer ego of a druggie has to be thought out to be believed. Not-

log matters to him but him. The world can fall apart, they can stockpile enough missiles to wipe us all out three times over, get tortured in Guatemalan jails, or get radiated by nuclear waste on their own doortaps while the wretched druggie squats in a corner sticking pills and needles into himself. At enormous cost, too, and I do not mean to his health which, for all I care, he can stick as well. If anyone else in our society went about expecting, say, £80 every day of the week of every

By Jill Tweedie

month of every year for clothes, entertainment, fast cars, yachts, drink, fags or any other single commodity, we would mark him out as the hideous face of capitalism. But if the commodity is a drug, large numbers of us make lugubrious faces and whinge about the sadness of it all. Sad? It's diabolical. Show me the human suffering for which your average peid-up druggie would exert himself in the same way. Not him. He prefers to spend his time clawing in money by hook and mainly by crook and spends every penny on his own self so that he, His Highness, may experience a few totally predictable hallucinations, which — he often has the gall to tell us — reveal some earth-shattering truth about life. If a druggie happens to be rich and famous, worse happens. To

obsessive media attention, he gets clepped into some fur-lined bin where cooing therapists stroke out of him one or two stela memories of childhood at £1,000 a throw. Then he emerges to have his photo taken, cured till the next time. Meanwhile, they witter on about the scrounging unemployed.

I've heard all the arguments in the druggies' favour. Difficult times, no jobs, no future, polluted environment, wicked cities, racial prejudice, rotten education, it's all our fault, what a world, who can wonder. And it isn't nice, is it, to criticise another generation — it's mean, it's blinkered, it was better for us. Yet there still exist millions of young people who somehow manage to stagger through the westlands without crutches of sold gold, which is what drugs are, when analysed.

I don't hold with short or long shocks in prison, where drugs are on the whole easier to obtain than on the outside. Nor do I hold with the patient, gloomy psychological approach that treats druggies as special and puts drug abuse down to personal trauma or social pressures. In my view, drug-takers, the heavy variety, should be treated with the demerol contempt they deserve as cop-outs, possessors of outside egos, cowards, finks and domestic exploiters of the meaneast kind. And most of all, they should be seen clearly for what every one of them is. Mindbendingly, tear-curlingly, skin-crawlingly, water-wringingly, headachingly boring.

## Ted Moul found dead

By Martin Wainwright

THE farmer and broadcaster Ted Moul, whose yeoman qualities drew on the old English tradition of the wise rustic, was found shot dead last week in the office of his Derbyshire farm. His family said he had shot himself. He was 60.

Although famous for his cheerful humour, zest and charitable work — his diary of money-raising appearances was full for weeks ahead — he had recently been depressed about his health and the financial effects of a poor season on his "pick-your-own" strawberry business at Scaddow's Farm, Ticknall, whose 300 acres had been his home for more than 30 years.

The son and grandson of drapers, he went on to the land in Derbyshire at 15, became a tenant farmer at Salford, near Derby, in 1948 and bought Scaddow's in the late 1950s. The nous which took him from farmhand to farmer was fortified by a store of general knowledge which came into its own in 1959. After writing to various BBC shows suggesting that he might be an improvement on their existing panellists, he entered the Brain of Britain competition and won.

In the Sixties and early Seventies he appeared on dozens of quiz and panel programmes, such as Ask Me Another and What's My Line, flourishing alongside contrasting characters like Lady Isobel Bernal.

## Hope of vaccine against Aids

By Andrew Veltch

AN AIDS vaccine that could both prevent infection and treat people in the first stages of infection is being developed by British and US scientists, it was announced last week at the British Association for the Advancement of Science meeting in Bristol. If it works, the first to benefit will be those at risk of the disease, including babies of infected mothers.

Initial tests in primates show that the vaccine generates antibodies capable of neutralising the virus and the blood cells in which

it hides and replicates. It represents the first real hope for more than two million people worldwide who have already been infected, but will come too late for the hundreds of thousands who have developed the full-blown fatal disease.

Details were disclosed last week by Professor Bill Jarrett of Glasgow University, who has been seconded to Washington as coordinator of the US National Cancer Institute's Aids vaccination programme. "I am hopeful of get-

ting an Aids vaccine soon," he told the British Association, "but one can never put a time limit on it. It depends on a lot of luck in the lab."

His team has made the artificial vaccine by isolating a protein called GP 120 from the spikes that cover the coat of the Aids virus. The protein is inserted into an "iscom" — an immuno-stimulating complex — and injected into the subject. The prototype has been given to rhesus monkeys and gibbons. The animals have produced antibodies which are capable of neutralising both the virus itself and the infected cells, said Professor Jarrett. "This shows it is possible to make a preparation to produce the kind of antibody which is normally protective."

The discovery stems partly from Professor Jarrett's work on cats who develop feline Aids after infection with feline leukaemia virus. A vaccine developed to protect cats against the infection also kills the virus in those that have been infected.

The hope, Professor Jarrett explained, is that the same thing will happen in humans, allowing treatment of those recently infected, but it will not help people in the later stages whose immune system has been destroyed.

## Lethal cocktail killed Olivia Channon

By Martin Wainwright

A MIXTURE of heroin, drink and amphetamines killed Olivia Channon, the daughter of Mr Paul Channon, the Secretary for Trade, an inquest at Oxford heard last week. She died slowly of poisoning after collapsing on a friend's bed at Christ Church College following a party to mark the end of her final examinations.

Miss Channon, who was 22, and left £500,000 in her will, was described by the coroner, Mr Nicholas Gardiner, as "no stranger to drugs". He recorded a verdict of misadventure.

Friends told the inquest that they had expressed concern about her use of heroin but she was strong willed and difficult to influence.

Count Gottfried von Bismarck, the Christ Church student on whose bed Miss Channon died, said that the party on June 10 had begun with champagne on the pavement outside the examination schools.

More champagne followed in his rooms and at the college bar, where a group of friends drank black velvet — Guinness with champagne. Miss Channon had a pint of sherry on the table although he did not know how much of it she had drunk.

Mr Sebastian Guinness, Miss Channon's third cousin, who travelled from London for the party, said that the group then returned to von Bismarck's rooms. He found himself in the bathroom with some of the others "very drunk" and went on: "Olivia was taking something, claiming it was heroin. She took it through a tube sticking up her nose."

The inquest heard that Miss Channon had been "crashed out" on von Bismarck's bed with Mr



Olivia Channon

Nicholas Vincent, aged 24, a post-graduate history student at St. Peter's who also described himself as very drunk. The party had left the room littered with paper and books and there was a pile of broken glass outside a window.

Mr Vincent said that he had woken twice during the night but assumed that Miss Channon was in a deep sleep. It was only at breakfast-time the following day, when her body was stiff and her face discoloured, that he realised something was "dreadfully wrong".

The inquest heard that several people had seen the couple on the bed during the night and had assumed that nothing was wrong. Mr Arthur Ives, a Christ Church porter, gave written evidence that he had turned out the room's light and shut the door at 12.30am when the couple were in the position as at 10.30pm when he had made his previous round. "I see quite a lot of students' rooms and they are usually in a mess," he said. "I decided that nothing was untidy."

## OBITUARY

### Guardian's man on the spot

DAVID WOODWARD, the author and war correspondent who covered the end of the second world war for the Guardian from D-Day onwards, died last week at the age of 78. He had been admitted to the Churchill Hospital, Oxford, for a minor operation.

Woodward was recruited to the paper after beginning his working life with the pre-war League of Nations in Geneva. From 1936-43, he worked for the News Chronicle as foreign correspondent. He was flying from Berlin for the Chronicle when war broke out, and went on to report the sieges of Tobruk and Malta.

Guardian executives of the time were sceptical about recruiting him as special war correspondent with Montgomery's forces. They thought he might be too infected with popular journalism.

But he became one of the first three journalists to reach North Africa by air, landing by glider with a

parachute unit in an esparteg field near Oen. Although wounded by mortar fire, he fled what the Guardian's official history describes as a "first-class piece of writing".

Later he covered the liberation of Paris, Brussels, Copenhagen and Belsen. After the war he worked for Unesco in Paris, spent three years as press attaché to the British Legation in Israel, then became a producer in BBC radio features, where he worked until his retirement in 1969.

He published eight books, six of them naval histories. The most successful were *The Tirpitz* and *The Russians at Sea*. His friend and fellow war correspondent, Tom Pocock, of the *London Standard*, said: "He was a very good, extremely brave, incisive journalist who saw the news in historical terms."

He leaves a widow and daughter.

## Minister attacks US over import curbs

By David Simpson

THE Trade and Industry Secretary, Mr Paul Channon, last week launched a fierce broadside against the growing movement within the US toward strict import controls, ahead of the meeting of world trade ministers to debate a new General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) in Uruguay later in the month.

"The US has been a major protagonist of the new GATT round," Mr Channon told a Confederation of British Industry conference. "It must be clear to Congress as to the administration that you cannot simultaneously regenerate confidence in open trade and progressively limit access to the world's largest

economy." Referring to the European Community's belief that trade barriers should be reduced, Mr Channon suggested that the same could be said of the US. "We see that where the community is cautiously liberalising in areas like machinery, textiles and steel, the US is still tightening up."

Mr Channon argued that in the present US debate on trade policy, there were persistent pleas for a "level playing field." But, Mr Channon said: "The truth is that the playing field is uneven. There are bumps in every corner, and smoothing them out is a task for multilateral effort, not for trigger-happy unilateralism."

## British Telecom adjusts charges

By Peter Large

BRITISH TELECOM is again cutting its telephone charges to big business, while making the home customer and many small local firms pay, at least 2 per cent more. Changes announced by BT, to be introduced in November, include a rise in the cost of peak-hour local calls and decreases for long-dis-

tance calls. The Telecom Users' Association said the only people to benefit would be corporations with a lot of long-distance and international traffic. Even big banks would suffer, because of their amount of local calls. BT made a pre-tax profit of £1.61 billion in 1985.

## CLASSIFIED

### CARS

#### IF YOU ARE HIRING A CAR MAKE IT E.C.R.

Great from £30 p.w. including unlimited mileage. A/R/R/C membership, rates in all models, free delivery Heathrow, Gatwick, Luton and Central London. All vehicles current Ford models including Automatics and Estates.

For quotation write to:  
Economic Car Rentals Limited,  
P.O. Box 8,  
Barnet, Herts, EN4 7QZ.  
Telephone: 01-442 2200  
Telex: 917116

#### FLYING TO GATWICK OR HEATHROW? LOW COST CAR HIRE FROM

**£60 PER WEEK**  
Unlimited mileage, VAT, Insurance.

AA cover included.  
Please write for brochure  
WORTH SELF DRIVE  
14a Priestley Way, Crawley,  
Sussex RH10 2NT, England  
Tel: (0293) 29027

## VISITING UK?

### OUR RATES TO DEC 10 1986

| Model                          | 1 JUN<br>15 SEP | 10 DEC | Model                        | 1 JUN<br>15 SEP | 10 DEC |
|--------------------------------|-----------------|--------|------------------------------|-----------------|--------|
| Fiat UNO 3 dr                  | £ 79            | £ 75   | Austin METRO 3dr             | £ 89            | £ 78   |
| Ford ESCORT 1.3L               | £ 94            | £ 83   | Austin MONTEGO 1.8L          | £122            | £109   |
| Austin MONTEGO 1.8L ESTATE     | £141            | £115   | Austin MONTEGO 2.0HL         | £154            | £129   |
| Ford ESCORT XR3i Sports Saloon | £179            | £139   | NISSAN SILVIA 1.8 TURBO      | £184            | £145   |
| Austin MONTEGO 2.0 ESTATE      | £158            | £137   | Peugeot 505 GR FAMILY ESTATE | £287            | £189   |
| ROVER 2800                     | £235            | £209   | Ford GRANADA 2.0GL           | £241            | £212   |
| New Shape Ford SCORPIO         | £327            | £295   | ROLLS ROYCE SILVER SHADOW II | £540            | £540   |

- UNLIMITED MILEAGE
- FREE DELIVERY/COLLECTION ON ALL RENTALS
- YOUR CAR DELIVERED DIRECT TO THE TERMINAL
- NO COURTESY BUS - NO WAITING
- ONE WAY RENTALS BETWEEN DEPTS ON HIRES OVER 7 DAYS (1.0 cc to 1.8 cc)
- DEPTS AT HEATHROW/GATWICK/CENTRAL LONDON/PRESTWICK/MANCHESTER GLASGOW/EDINBURGH

FOR IMMEDIATE RESERVATIONS IN USA AND CANADA  
CALL COLLECT TO:  
USA: WAYSIDE TRAVEL (312) 423-2113  
CANADA: HOWARD TRAVEL (416) 883-8880  
OR PHONE TELEX DIRECT TO CENTRAL RESERVATIONS  
UK Area Code 08286-85353

## WINDSOR CAR HIRE

P.O. BOX 14, BRACKNELL BERKS RG26 1FD  
LEIGH 046785 CITICAR ref VC11

## FLYING TO GATWICK? DON'T JUST RENT A CAR TAKE A LIBERTY

30 mins from airport — free Gatwick delivery  
• Full insurance and RAC membership  
• Free mileage at 1400 standard — low rates  
• Questions without obligation  
Send for brochure today from:  
Liberty Car Hire, Three Bridges Rail Station,  
Gatwick, Sussex, UK. Tel: Crawley (0293) 844128

## W. JONES & SON LTD CAR HIRE

Lannox Street  
Bognor Regis  
Sussex, England  
TELEX 86402 (CHT TYP)  
ALSO AT HEATHROW  
COMPETITIVE RATES  
FROM  
**£75 PER WEEK**

## MANCHESTER

GATEWAY TO NORTH BRITAIN  
Large selection of 1985/86 Cars, Estates and Automatics, from £300 per week. No deposit charge. Delivery and collection to Airport. Child seats available.

Brochure by return airmail  
MANCHESTER SELF-DRIVE  
1212 ETOCKPORT ROAD  
MANCHESTER, M19 2SA  
Tel: 061-432 0864 Telex: 668914 TORDES.O.

## SELF DRIVE HIRE DELIVERY AT LONDON'S HEATHROW AND GATWICK AIRPORTS

- ★ Choose from the latest new Montego, Maestro & Metro models (Station or Saloon) — even a 12 seater Minibus.
- ★ New arrival 8 seater Comet and Rover 200 series.
- ★ Unlimited mileage.
- ★ Comprehensive insurance + AA membership included.

Wadham Stringer  
CAR & TRUCK RENTAL

Dept GW  
Woodbridge Road, Oxford, Surrey  
GU11 1DA England. Telephone:  
(0448) 6221 or 69701

## ACCESS CAR HIRE U.K.

| Group | Car                     | Price | Group | Car                     | Price |
|-------|-------------------------|-------|-------|-------------------------|-------|
| A     | Ford Fiesta 900         | £76   | F     | Ford Sierra 1.6i Estate | £117  |
| A1    | Ford Fiesta 1.1i        | £81   | G     | Ford Sierra 2.0i        | £119  |
| B     | Ford Escort 1.1i        | £89   | H     | Ford Granada 2.0i       | £159  |
| C     | Ford Escort 1.3i Estate | £95   | J     | Ford Granada Estate     | £149  |
| D     | Ford Escort 1.6i        | £99   | K     | Mercedes 190E           | £159  |
| SP    | Ford Granada 1.6i       | £129  | KS    | Mercedes 280SL          | £295  |
| E     | Ford Sierra 1.6i        | £105  | KL    | Mercedes 280SE          | £199  |

Weekly Rate — Unlimited Mileage — Comprehensive Insurance — Child Seats occ. Free delivery London Airport on all hire of 2 weeks. Credit Card. All Rates plus VAT.

## SELF-DRIVE CAR HIRE IN THE U.K.

Woods of Reigate are a long-established family company. Our services are friendly and designed to make your car hire as simple and pleasant as possible. Our fleet includes new Fords and Vauxhalls and with offices in major centres, we really can offer you the best service at competitive rates.

WOODS  
Siddow Bridge, Reigate, Surrey RH2 8PP  
Tel: Reigate (071 72) 40281. Telex: 947064

Offices in: REIGATE, GLASGOW, MANCHESTER

## KARDROP KENSINGTON SELF DRIVE CAR RENTAL

## LET US MEET YOU FROM YOUR FLIGHT

- \* Open 7 days a week
- \* Ford, VW, Porsche, BMW, Jaguar etc.
- \* Competitive rates

01-581 1717  
Telex 268851

24-25 CROMWELL PLACE  
LONDON SW7 2LO  
Just by South Kensington Tube Station

## ROSS MINI car rental U.K. Self Drive

## FIESTA £63 Per Week + v.a.t.

Other models available  
No mileage charge. Free maintenance. Roadside assistance. Free delivery. Gatwick hire over 2 weeks.

Brochure by return air mail

Ross Car Rental  
5 Dickering Lane New Malden,  
Surrey KT13 3RZ, England  
Tel: 01-942 7756  
Telex: 27950. ref: 605

# FAR EAST

## UP 70% IN ONLY SEVEN MONTHS THE RBC FAR EAST AND PACIFIC FUND

By the end of this century the Far East and Pacific Basin will be a centre of world industry and finance. By investing in the RBC Far East and Pacific Fund now you'll share in the dynamic growth and wealth of this important area.

— UP OVER 70% SINCE 1ST JANUARY —  
At 1st January 1986 the Fund's offer price stood at US \$12.63 per share and by 6th August 1986 had risen to US \$21.54, an increase of 70.5% taking into account re-invested income, a rise of 105% since launch on 26th March 1984. The Fund is managed and administered in the Channel Islands by RBC Offshore Fund Managers Limited — a subsidiary of The Royal Bank of Canada — Canada's biggest bank and one of the world's largest.

**GROWTH PROSPECTS**  
The Far East remains the world's most exciting growth area. The collapse of oil prices is providing a substantial boost to world economies, with Japan a major beneficiary. The strong Yen and expanding domestic sector provide outstanding investment opportunities in the world's second largest market. Elsewhere, Hong Kong is a beneficiary of the economic upturn and is helped by the weaker US Dollar. Whilst the resource oriented markets, such as Australia and Singapore, will come into favour as the economic cycle matures. Added spice is provided from some of the newly developing investment areas in the region, such as South Korea and Taiwan.

**FUND FEATURES**  
• Minimum investment US \$1000 or equivalent  
• Savings Plan: US \$300 per month. Bonus 1% in second year, 2% in third year end each year after.  
• Dividends paid in May only in US \$ or £ Sterling. No tax withheld. Automatic reinvestment available.  
• We regret that this investment opportunity is not available to citizens or residents of the United States or investors resident in Canada.

**RBC Offshore Fund Managers Limited**  
A subsidiary of THE ROYAL BANK OF CANADA  
Royal Bank House, P.O. Box 48, St. John's Avenue, St. Peter Port, Guernsey, Channel Islands. Tel: 0481-23021 Telex: 4191527

Please send me more information and a copy of RBC Far East and Pacific Fund Prospectus  
Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_


**RBC Offshore Fund Managers Limited**  
P.O. Box 48, Guernsey, Channel Islands, Tel: 0481-23021 Telex: 4191527  
GWFF/14.9.86

CAPITAL GROWTH OFFSHORE? IT'S AS EASY AS RBC



## Pinochet reacts to assassination attempt

**OELTA rocket last week blasted off from Cape Canaveral and sent into orbit two satellites in the first space-based test of President Reagan's Star Wars project. Despite the enigma of secrecy, the launch was shown live on television.**



launchers and explosives buried in

It first appeared in late 1983. Its most spectacular actions have been the kidnapping of a journalist at the Government newspaper, a policeman, and recently an army colonel. It has also placed several car bombs.

attempt. He also accused the Pakistanis of encouraging hijacking, saying there was "official involvement, which had been documented" in an earlier hijack of an Indian aircraft.

Nidal it was — could not have chosen a more characteristic way of serving notice that it has not.

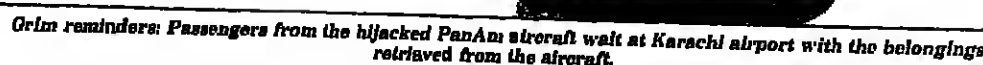
There is of course every reason why Abu Nidal or his ilk should observe a deeper cover than usual. In Reagan's book Abu Nidal is almost synonymous with Colonel Gadaffy, and sometimes President Assad. In the present that is certainly, in some measure, borne out. Gadaffy did not disguise his encounters with the world's most notorious terrorist. What the true relationship is now, I understand, it is not clear. But the danger is that

There is at the moment precious little sign, given Israeli. Intransigence, American bias and Arab desarray, that any "peace process" is going any place. But, with American envoy Richard Murphy diligently doing the rounds of Israel and Arab capitals, there is quite a lot of diplomatic motion; the Israelis are even putting it about that he wants to persuade King Hussein to strive for a joint declaration to be made by President Mubarak and Prime Minister Pines at their hoped-for, but, still far from certain, summit.

There is a "peace process" in the "geng of murderers". They are helped in this by the Karachis, highlanders' demand for the release of three known Araratists in Cyprus goals. The PLO's denunciation of those atrocities impresses the Israelis less than anybody else, and all the more so that, given the chaos into which the whole Palestinian resistance movement has fallen, Kerachi at least, if not Istanbul, could after all have been linked in some way to the mainstream leadership — just as, unexpectedly, the liner Achille Lauro was last year.

The last victims of the latest Soweto police massacre were finally buried, peacefully, last week. The work boycott by Sowetans — described as the biggest since the

that economic sanctions from industrialised countries are the key to real pressure on the South African Government.



Before that, the wife of Mr Winnington Sabelo, a member of the central committee of Inkatha, the Zulu movement, headed by

**Reuter adds:** A powerful explosion on Sunday ripped through a building in a run-down area of central Stockholm housing the office of the ANC, causing extensive damage but no injuries, police said.

ation for a raid on Lesotho by South African commandos three days earlier, he said in court. Nine Lesotho-based ANC cadres, including a white woman, held up

attempt. He also accused the Pakistanis of encouraging hijacking, saying there was "official involvement, which had been documented" in an earlier hijack of an Indian aircraft.

dent Assad. In the present that has certainly, in some measure, been true. Gadhafi did not disguise his encounters with the world's most notorious terrorist. What the true relationship is now is unclear. It is

about that he wants to persuade King Hussein to strive for a joint declaration to be made by President Mubarak and Prime Minister Peres at their hoped-for, but still far from certain, summit.

The last victims of the latest Soweto police massacre were finally buried, peacefully, last week. The work boycott by Sowetans — described as the biggest since the

that economic sanctions from industrialised countries are the key to real pressure on the South African Government.



## Jewish settlers ready for new expansion

By Ian Black in Jerusalem

MILITANT Israeli settlers in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip are preparing for a period of renewed activity when the Likud leader, Mr Yitzhak Shamir, takes over the premiership from the Labour Party's Mr Shimon Peres next month.

The Jewish settlers, who number some 52,000 in all, that different outposts, are for the with the Likud life of the second half Government, they National 150 to campaign will try to increase their number and create obstacles to future territorial concessions to Jordan.

Although the guidelines setting up the bipartisan administration in September 1984 are specific on the question of settlements, the militants are planning to bring pressure to bear on a Prime Minister far whom a Jewish presence in "Judea and Samaria" is a basic article of political faith.

The 1984 coalition agreement provided for the establishment of six new settlements during the Government's four-year term — a figure fixed more by budgetary constraints than ideology. Four of those have already been set up, and any additional ones would require fresh Cabinet approval.

Labour politicians have made it clear that they will oppose any attempt to increase the number of settlements, and although Mr Shmueli is insisting publicly on his commitment to the agreed guidelines, there have been persistent reports that he is quietly working on ways to accelerate the process.

One clear warning sign is that the Likud leader is said to be planning to appoint Mr Otniel Schneller, the chairman of the settlers' council, as a special adviser on the issue. Mr Schneller said this week that the council wants to meet soon to discuss what he called "Jordan's growing involvement" in the West Bank.

Jordan's new role also indicates

trouble ahead. Since 'between Jordan and the PLO attempt to be an attempt to regain some of his King Hussein and economic influence in the West Bank.

Although this encouragement seems designed more to help weaken the PLO than to induce the King into separate peace negotiations, the settlers are worried that greater Jordanian influence will turn out to be a prelude to the return of parts of the West Bank to King Hussein.

The settlers' magazine, *Nekuda*, warned last week that although the expansion of Jordanian influence was at the expense of the PLO, "the danger from Jordan to the future of settlement in Judea, Samaria and Gaza is no less than that posed by the PLO."

With issues like this already looming large in the background, the question of political control over settlements seems likely to become a serious point of conflict between Labour and Likud soon after the rotation agreement is implemented next month.

Labour's Mr Yitzhak Rabin is scheduled to retain the key post of Defence Minister under Mr Shamir's premiership, and is certain to demand that he has overall responsibility for settlements. During the first half of the National Unity Government, disagreements between the two parties prevented the establishment of a ministerial committee to oversee the issue.

Labour has traditionally supported the creation of strategically placed settlements along the 1987 ceasefire line in the Jordan Valley, while the Likud believes in the right of Jews to live throughout the West Bank, even urban Palestinian areas like Hebron and Nablus. The two sides agreed to bury their differences on this issue, as on other controversial issues, to set up the National Unity Government two years ago.

## Hang-up over phone boxes

By Michael White in Washington

TWO veteran British telephone boxes were being held by the US Customs service in Los Angeles last week on suspicion of being quota-busting fabricated steel rather than a much-valued combination of cast iron, wood, glass and red paint, now sadly relegated to the status of antiques.

As antiques the phone boxes are as much fair game for export as Chippendale chairs and Welsh kitchen dressers. An enterprising organisation called the London Telephone Box Company bought all 30,000 relics of the classic 1920's design currently being replaced by British Telecom's dynamic management.

Over the next seven years it plans to sell them for as much as \$2,000 each to holders of marks, francs, yen, or — to most cases — dollars. London Bridge is already on display in Arizona, but with land prices so much higher in California the locals are willing to settle for a smaller bit of Old England.

Unfortunately the boxes have now become enmeshed in the ever-bubbling trade war between the US and the European Economic Community. When the latest pair arrived at Los Angeles officials insisted that they were part of the European steel quota, renewed on January 1 to protect America's ailing steel industry from the consequences of the free enterprise it is constantly preaching to others.

According to the British Embassy's steel specialist in Washington, Mr Derek Plumby, the Fabricated Steel Quota is one category within the BEC US agreement designed to prevent why Europeans evading the new steel limits by turning the stuff into value-added products like oil rigs.

Since the telephone boxes are not actually made of steel, a Los Angeles Customs official was quoted as saying it was "just a paperwork foul-up" which would be rectified once the London shipper filed the necessary papers. Meanwhile, the embassy's Mr Plumby is refusing to certify that it is part of the fabricated steel quota — since it plainly isn't and there is only about nine tons of quota unused this year.

"It just illustrates the silliness of protectionism generally. In order to make it watertight you have to extend it way beyond what it's supposed to be concerned with," said Mr Plumby. "This is too silly not to be sorted out, but it may take a couple of days."

Nato's two trade blocs have narrowly avoided a major trade war this year over BEC citrus products and a US threat to retaliate against Italian pasta, superior to their own. British Telecom, however, is showing an open-minded commitment to free trade. Its replacement phone boxes are plastic and of American design.

## Prince Charles proposes psychology to Harvard



Prince Charles with Francis Burr, chief marshal of the Harvard celebrations.

THEY came in gowns of crimson and puce pink, top hats and bowlers, Burberrys and old boy ties to enjoy a 350th birthday bash and see and hear a Prince who believes that "the natural science of psychology" may hold the answers to education's woes.

But first they were obliged to sit in the historical flag-festooned dais of Harvard Yard listening to long-winded historic tales of Puritans and revolutionaries, the Charles River and the importance of Greek and Hebrew in intellectual development.

The strain of waiting and crowd impatience was felt by the Prince too, resplendent in his century-old black and gold embroidered gown of the Chancellor of the University of Wales. "The suspense of this mammoth occasion has been killing me," the Prince remarked.

"You have devised an exquisite torture for the uninitiated," he said, noting that it had required all his "character-building education" to prepare him for Harvard's 350th celebratory convocation. Prince Charles's candour produced the second biggest guffaw of the day: the president of Yale out-humoured the Prince with a disparaging reference to the gauche commemorative chocolate on sale outside the learned gates.

Harvard Yard, an architectural monument to the 3½ centuries of the university's history, rang to the sound of choral music as the old boys and invited guests arrived, including Senator Edward Kennedy, and the Speaker of the House, Mr Tip O'Neill, who also happens to be Harvard's congressman. Missing was President Reagan, piqued because there was no offer of an honorary degree in this manner of President Roosevelt on the 300th birthday in 1936.

With the fragrance of newly mown grass rising from the damp ground, elegant Wall Street bankers and patrician Bostonians, senators and cabinet members were simply elated. The ancient educators doddering along in their flowing robes were the masters once again.

"The essence of this place," one lady professor said, "is that it is white, male and Protestant... and after we have all been here for a while, we all become white, male and Protestant." She was more or less right.

Despite efforts from the faculty to paint Harvard as a colour-blind place which tolerates little racial prejudice, black faces among the Harvard men (there's no such thing as a Harvard woman) are rare.

The Prince, as the traditional on these occasions, made his pitch for the Anglo-American alliance and the special relationship. But this time his words were laced with a special urgency, reflecting, perhaps, the anti-Americanism which has swept Britain in the Reagan era.

He noted that, in the same way as colonial Britain had caused horrors to the United States in the days of its founding fathers, "The United States, with all its power and influence and commercial might, can sometimes evoke anxious reactions across the Atlantic."

All that was lacking, as he uttered these words, to a crowd lost in their own reminiscences of great days of youth, were the F-111 jets streaking across the sky on their way to Libya.

Exploiting his position as keynote speaker to the full, the Prince decided to let America's academic elite, gathered around him on the

podium in adorning poses, into some of his own educational philosophy. The Prince, who a day earlier had been playing with the new technologies at the Wang labs, wondered aloud whether parents should "let our children slip away into a world dominated entirely by sophisticated technology."

"How do we teach people to recognise that there is a dark side of man's psyche and that his destructive power is immense if we are aware of it?" Prince Charles asked. He then ventured to suggest, that instead of religion, to which Harvard owed its birth as a home for Puritan dissenters, the need in universities now might be an "introduction to the natural science of psychology."

The Prince continuing his theme, said: "The potential destruction of the great rain forests, the exploration of space, greater power than we have ever had or our nature can handle — all confront us for what could be the final settlement."

In honour of the Prince, and the group of fellows from Emmanuel College who became Harvard's first overseas in 1636, the ceremony had a distinctly British flavour. The weather was grey, with the sun struggling to appear, Elgar's Pomp and Circumstance

By Alex Brummer in Cambridge, Mass.

Number Four was tinnily belted out by the university band, and the vice-chancellor of Cambridge, Lord Adrien, felt it necessary to display a condescending academic wit.

Harvard has come a long way since John Harvard, the Cambridge-educated son of a London butcher, bequeathed his estate of £770 and 400 books in 1636 to be used "towards a school or college". Some 360 years later, Harvard — originally designated a College of Divinity by the witch-obsessed Rev Cotton Mather — has come to represent Mammon. Last week's giddy celebrations are part of the ritual by which Harvard has relied on its successful alumni to build an exchequer befitting a Wall Street house or small nation state.

Sharing the podium with the Prince of Wales and intellectuals such as the historian Arthur Schlesinger were a pair of "Harvard boys" — the slightly derogatory description used by all but insiders — who have made it as big as you can in the American financial world: The Federal Reserve Board chairman, Mr Paul Volcker, and the White House chief-of-staff, Mr Donald Regan, the creator of the investment bankers, Merrill Lynch. It is not in the least bit surprising that in this day and age Harvard's fame rests, not with the brilliance of its students in the undergraduate Faculty of Arts and Sciences, but with its job and income orientated

graduate schools, which all but guarantee high-paying jobs in law, finance, and corporate America.

After all, Harvard MBAs are worth an immediate \$80,000 a year in the corporate rat race. The man who has headed the edifice for the past 16 years is Dr Derek Bok, aged 66, who was the broom brought in to clear up the debris after the turbulent 1960s. In 1969, angry Harvard students, taking a lesson from activists at Berkeley, seized University Hall, Harvard's administrative nerve-centre, smashed the offices, and spilled confidential files over the floor.

Some 200 state troopers forcibly removed the rebellious youths, brutally sending 184 bleeding students to hospital. "It's hard to believe," one dean remarked at the time, "that something put together over a third of a millennium by Harvard men can be destroyed in a few days in April."

Dr Bok, the dean of Harvard Law School, re-established control after his predecessor, Nathan Pusey, was all but evicted from office. Dr Bok's success is more often than not measured in financial terms. It is noted that, under his management, the university's budget tripled to \$650 million from \$206 million, and its endowment rose to \$3.6 billion, making it among the largest institutional investors in the nation.

To handle this vast resource, Dr Bok created the Harvard Management Corporation, a sort of insiders' moribund bank. Despite its designation as a "non-profit" corporation, it would be difficult to distinguish the trading room at HMC from that of Merrill Lynch.

Despite its vast resources, Harvard remains an exclusive club in which Boston Brahmins and New England preppies, who earn a place by birth, rub shoulders with the sons of America's rich who can afford to pay the \$16,136 tuition per year, reduced to a mere \$9,000 or so with a scholarship.

Despite its all-potency on the academic scales, behind half-a-dozen other universities from Stanford to Princeton, the best and the brightest still knock on Harvard's door. In a typical year all newcomers will be ranked in the top 3 per cent in their classes.

The offspring of the rich and famous do not have the same academic requirements. Michael Mailer, son of Norman, Caroline Kennedy, daughter of JFK, and other "lascivious" as they are known, more often than not slide in under the intellectual rope.

When it was the first American university among equals, any scholar would jump at Harvard's prestige. Professor Seymour Martin Lipset, of Stanford, now observes: "The Harvard assumption that anyone to whom it makes an offer will accept has clearly not been true for some time."

Hamish McRae

FOR anyone who believes that the best approach to investment is to go directly counter to current conventional wisdom, a new candidate has emerged.

It is Australia. Followers of evsota there will recall that the country has just faced an austerity budget of the sort we used to have here periodically in the 1970s; that everyone is saying, as they usually do, that the tough fiscal cutbacks and interest rate hikes are not enough; and that economic forecasts for the country are pretty universally gloomy.

And that, on the counter-cyclical theory, ought to be just the time to invest.

It so happens that in recent days there have been several signs that the more canny members of

our financial community are thinking on just these lines. One came from Sir Jeffrey Sterling of P and O, which has had a pretty miserable time with its Australian operations in the last year. They are small in relation to the group as a whole, but in the last six months profits have been virtually halved to £2.6 million, from £4.3 millions for the same period the year before.

Was Sir Jeffrey thinking of cutting back his Australian activities? Not at all. Sir Jeffrey believes that a process of change is taking place in Australian economic and political attitudes which will make it a much more attractive place in which to run a business. So they are very much staying there.

Taka another example: chief

among the handful of professional fund management groups which specifically tries to take a long view on investment is Templeton Investment Management. Templeton is an American group which pioneered international investment in the States. (Ita

## FINANCIAL NOTEBOOK

founder, Mr John Templeton has helped finance Templeton College in Oxford.) The group just started to extract some notice in this country since it opened an office here at the beginning of this year. Unlike other groups which seem

to shift their holdings around every week or so Templeton hardly ever buys or sells securities unless it feels there is an exceptionally strong reason for doing so. The principal criterion for buying is a search for fundamental value.

And where is it now buying securities? In Australia, where, it believes on, say, a six-year view, prospects are rosy.

Take a third example. One of our most canny international property companies is Hammerson. Where does it believe there are good investment opportunities? Yes, Australia.

Doubtless other investors around the world will feel the same. Securities there certainly offer far better value for money than the sky-high prices of Japanese shares, the low interest rates available on German bonds, or the uncertain

attractions of US securities at a time when senior administration figures are shouting that the dollar has further to fall.

Further, if anyone wants a cross-check on the wisdom of investing in Australia at this time, they should look at what the Japanese portfolio managers, the most dedicated followers of fashion in the investment business are doing... and do the opposite. A couple of years back they were piling into Australian bonds attracted by the seemingly high interest rates available.

The Australian dollar collapsed, and interest rates climbed still higher, thereby reducing the value of the bonds, too. After this bad experience the Japanese have stopped investing there. That must say something, even if others are heading in the opposite direction.

## Amnesty condemns Chilean death squads

By Jonathan Steele

CHILE'S military dictator, General Augusto Pinochet, has reverted to using clandestine teams to kidnap, torture, and kill opponents, according to a fully documented report by Amnesty International, published last week.

Felling back on terror tactics common in the years after the 1973 US-supported coup, General Pinochet has also authorised the use of mass arrests in an effort to crush dissent.

The Amnesty report says that undercover forces "have been responsible for serious violations of human rights, including disappearances, extrajudicial executions, torture, and the intimidation of large sectors of the population through threats, harassment, abduction, and physical assault".

"The threat of arrest, abduction, torture, and even death is ever present for thousands of Chileans, from church workers, human rights activists, and the urban poor to members of opposition organisations," Amnesty says.

The clandestine teams, it says, carry out their intimidation with impunity and have stepped up their terror since the wave of public protests revived in 1983. "They are highly organised and have considerable financial backing. They operate without restraint and during curfew hours."

In one of its most damning comments, Amnesty says that despite widespread human rights violations, the judiciary has largely been unable or unwilling to investigate abuses and bring those responsible to justice. "Up to mid-

1986 not one member of the police or security forces had been convicted of the torture or death of a political prisoner," Amnesty says.

Molecular Cood adds: The Government has rejected the report which it says is "inconsistent with the objectivity which Amnesty International claims." A Foreign Ministry statement denied there were political prisoners in Chile, and said that Amnesty had ignored the killing of 43 members of the security forces by terrorists since 1983, more than 1,700 bombings and incendiary attacks since January, 1985, and the death of 216 citizens in "acts of extremist violence since 1984." The prisoners referred to in the report are all held on terrorist-related charges and have been duly tried, said the ministry.

## Russians' growing love affair with the automobile

LIKE MOST Moscow drivers, I have learned to avoid the Krimsky bridge over the river near the Kremlin on Thursday morning when the Politburo meets. The traffic is held up for miles around as the long black Zil limousines snake out of the narrow road past the general staff HQ, past the Lenin library, and across to the special entrance into the Kremlin.

You get accustomed to this constant presence of motorised privilege. Along the middle of all the main roads runs a special lane, known as the Zil lane because this is reserved for official cars and their motorcades, screaming along the streets at astonishing speeds with blue lights flashing, traffic cones saluting, and all the traffic lights being carefully turned to green.

One of the fastest drives I ever enjoyed in my life came when I went to the airport to meet Neil Kinnock and an official Labour Party delegation which had come for talks with the former leader, Konstantin Chernenko. They were met by a Politburo host in the VIP lounge, and whisked into a Zil motorcade for what is normally a 30-minute drive into the city. I tucked in behind the motorcade and the trip took 11 minutes.

It was one of the few pleasures of Moscow driving, a generally depressing experience made alarming by the weather. In winter, driving on ice is bad enough, but come the spring thaw and you learn that Moscow is this city of potholes, as the ice chews up the road surfaces into great chasms that wreck your suspension and leave the tremolines rising proudly above the wrecked asphalt like little tank-traps.

But like anywhere else in the world, the real menace on the roads comes from other traffic, and the surprise of Moscow is that

there is so much of it. In a city with one of the world's finest metro systems, and reasonable, although much criticised buses, trolley buses, and trams, the age of the private car has come to the Soviet capital.

It is worse in summer because the "podzemniki", or snowdrops, those drivers who put their cars away in garages or under tarpaulins for the long winter, venture out like so many spring flowers when the snow clears. Seasoned Moscow drivers complain about the podzemniki and their amateurish habits much as people in

By Martin Walker in Moscow

Britain complain of Sunday drivers.

They have not yet got around to installing parking meters in Moscow, but the day cannot be far away. For the past ten years, the car factories have been turning out over 1,300,000 automobiles a year, most of them the Zhiguli, based on an obsolescent Fiat design and produced on the Italian-designed assembly line at the vast Togliatti plant on the Volga.

On the private cars, the Zhigulis are a very clear pecking order. There is the Volga, a big sedan that runs off 73-octane petrol that makes up the taxi fleet and the transport for junior officials. Then comes the Chalka, which looks like a Cadillac and is used for official delegations of not quite top rank. The old ones, with the 1960 curves and deep pile carpets, and flower vases are marvellous artefacts, and when you see a cluster of them together you are suddenly transported into a Hollywood movie. Finally come the Zila, shakillika, and arrogant.

For obvious reason, most of the official cars are based in Moscow, but the capital also has a disproportionate share of the private cars. And so do the more affluent republics, like the Baltic states and Georgia.

And with the private cars, and the pride of ownership they inspire, comes a slow but inexorable social revolution. Apart from that minority buying a co-op apartment or a dacha, a car is by far the biggest expenditure a Soviet citizen can expect to make. And keeping the thing running is likely to be his biggest headache. Spare parts are one of the choicest items on the black market, and the private car has probably been the biggest single factor in the surging growth of corruption and the black economy.

The deputy procurator general has just issued a hair-curling statement on the vast industry in black market petrol. In some Moscow service stations, he fumed, the attendants were making so much on the side they did not bother to collect their wages for six months. Even in the last year of strict Gorbachev-style discipline, theft of petrol had gone up by 26 per cent. The chairman of the state committee for the fuel industry had been arrested after taking bribes... the list of complaints went on and on.

And as I sit in the increasingly common Moscow traffic jams, even when the Politburo is not blocking the roads, I see no end to the social change. The Government can try to clamp down on the use of private and off-duty official cars as gypsy cabs, and can try to stop the siphoning of state petrol, but once a society has begun its love affair with the automobile, even Opec has yet to find a way to stop it. You might as well try to park in the Zil lane.

**FILL IN THE  
COUPON. THEN FILL  
IN CHEQUES FROM  
A DEPOSIT ACCOUNT  
THAT PAYS OVER**

**9.3%  
INTEREST.**

If you have sterling funds to invest, find out about the Sterling Money Account managed by offshore bankers, Tyndall & Co (Isle of Man) Ltd.

You earn high interest (the result of Tyndall Group's muscle in the money market) and enjoy the convenience of a cheque book for all normal banking services, including instant access to your funds, and payment of large bills (minimum cheque £250). The account can also be used for standing orders.

Investment in UK banks, local authorities and building societies. Interest is credited four times a year, with the interest itself earning interest to give you an even higher return (currently 9.71%). Post the coupon for details.

\* Rate at time of going to press.

To: Tyndall & Co. (Isle of Man) Ltd, Dept  
PO Box 62, Tyndall House, Kensington Rd, Douglas,  
Isle of Man, U.K. Tel: (0624) 29201. Telex: 628732.  
Please send me details of Tyndall Money:  
Accounts. Sterling ☐ US Dollar ☐  
Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_

Tyndall & Co. (Isle of Man) Ltd.



## Digging a grave for apartheid

THE unstable equilibrium in South Africa between the power of the state and the anger of the blacks is graphically illustrated by last week's events in Soweto. The authorities eventually (and conservatively) admitted that 31 people had been killed in clashes between police and residents over evictions, 24 by police action. When a mass funeral for 24 of the "21" dead was planned, the police banned it. When an attempt was made to hold a combined ceremony at a stadium, the ensuing clash led to eight more deaths at police hands — leading to instant demands for a second mass funeral to commemorate those killed at the first. But there was a gruesome new twist to the latest confrontation, when the police became body-snatchers and amateur undertakers. In their efforts to break up the combined funeral they hijacked some of the coffins and buried them in elapdash fashion without telling the bereaved in advance. Macabre and agonised scenes ensued as relatives searched graveyards for their dead.

As these barbarous events took place far from the eyes of the muzzled media (we heard from brave witnesses), the last redoubt of western civilisation in South Africa, the judges' bench, handed down

another ruling against the state of emergency. The verdict came, like several earlier ones, from the Natal division of the Supreme Court. One of the regulations it ruled illegal was precisely that under which the Soweto police chief banned the mass funeral. Theoretically the ruling applies only to Natal, but it would take a contrary judgment from the Transvaal division of the Court (or the national Court of Appeal) to make such a ban legal in Soweto. This leaves the Government looking as inept as it did when the judges invalidated the emergency censorship last month, a loophole which was only resealed on the eve of last week's funeral chaos. The Natal court, an unexpectedly robust advertisement for an independence of the judiciary in what has otherwise become a blatant racist dictatorship, also ruled last week that the Government could not shut down newspapers for carrying material it deems subversive. This is a crucial judgment for the media even though the court did not repeat its earlier ruling against the renewed restrictions on their coverage.

The state of emergency was imposed to restore order after two years of township rebellion against apartheid. Censorship is not peripheral but central to the exercise,

because it is intended to draw a veil over the methods used by police and troops, which it is obviously failing to do, thanks largely to the courts. But for them we would not have heard of the sickening torture of Father Mkhahlela, the general secretary of the Catholic Bishops' Conference. If they are prepared to do it to such a senior black cleric we can be certain, even without the accumulated evidence of other cases, that they are doing it to many other less prominent Africans, and that they have nothing to learn from the SS. The unbridled brutality of the security forces strikes at the legitimacy of the state which employs them (and gives them immunity by decree), whatever the judges may do in their manifestly losing battle to defend civilised standards. There is not only no justification but also no tactical need for the police to use firearms as a first resort, or to torture detainees, or to desecrate funerals. By doing all this and more with such sadistic devotion to duty they are digging a grave for the regime they seek to preserve. Meanwhile there is some small comfort in the fact that a few South Africans, white as well as black, outside as well as inside the courts, are brave enough to challenge and expose them.

## Gold shines again

GOLD has been one of the world's worst investments in recent years. It reached a peak of \$677.5 an ounce during February, 1980; but by the end of last year it had more than halved in price. With inflation falling and high real interest rates (after allowing for inflation) readily available all over the world no one was much interested in a metal which did not even offer a dividend. But then gold has often been an elusive investment. French people who went into gold in 1939 had to wait over 30 years to show a return. All that is now changing. The price of gold jumped in London last week to \$420.50 an ounce, its highest level for several years, which can't be bad news for South Africa which relies on gold for half of its foreign exchange earnings. To the extent that gold is traditionally bought as a hedge against inflation this may seem somewhat perverse; especially at a time when Japan, West Germany and Switzerland are already sporting negative annual inflation rates, with other countries set to follow suit. The markets, it seems, are worried that inflation in key economies like the United States (currently 1.8 per cent) has "bottomed out" and, nudged by firmer oil prices, may start moving upwards again.

It is not as simple as that. The price of gold is determined by a complex of factors. Demand has been boosted by strong buying from Japanese investors (worried by the falling dollar) and by the Japanese government, which is striking 10 million gold coins to commemorate the 60th anniversary of the accession of Emperor Hirohito. In the rest of the world, buying has been triggered by lower interest rates, fears of currency instability, uncertain stock markets, the runaway rise in platinum prices, the dubious state of the US economy and the arrival of long-term investors convinced that gold is in for a sustained rise.

Above all there are worries about upheaval in South Africa, which produces over half of the world's supplies of gold and 80 per cent of its platinum. The fear is not so much — as some reports suggest — that the South African government might curtail gold supplies (which would be cutting off its nose to spite its face), but that industrial unrest might lead to closure of the mines. These forebodings outweigh the prospect of world supplies being increased later this year as Russia (the second largest producer) is compelled to sell more to gain foreign exchange to offset a sharp decline in oil revenues until it buys food in the wake of the Chernobyl disaster.

Whatever else, the sharp rise in the price of gold and platinum has proved to be a boon from heaven for South Africa's beleaguered economy. Ministers in Britain have used the argument that the market mechanism — by denying now credit to South Africa — has already done more to apply sanctions than the combined efforts of all other governments. There is some truth in this argument. But it is also true that the same market mechanism has been feeding South Africa with vital foreign exchange income by buying gold and precious metals. That is the cruellest irony of all.

## The intelligence of pigeons

IT was a good week for gorillas. Not since the sparing of Androcles has any species in the animal kingdom had its image so sharply upgraded as the gorilla did when an 18-stone beast called Jembo stood solicitously guard over a five-year-old boy who came hurtling into his pit. The television pictures — fortuitously caught by an amateur cameraman called Le Lion — must have moved a million hearts, while causing hurried upward revision of profit forecasts at Jersey Zoo.

But it has not been so good a week for dolphins or chimpanzees. According to Dr Evan McPhail, of York University, the intellectual power of the dolphin may be matched, and that of the chimpanzee actually surpassed, by the humble and tiresome pigeon. In the first of two experiments, he reported, an exercise in banana retrieval was successfully completed by every pigeon present, but by only one of the chimps. The rest ran round their cages, uncertain of what to do. In a second test, pigeons ended on level terms with dolphins in contests to see which was best at distinguishing red and green lights and getting food by pushing paddles. This is chastening news for dolphins, and

even worse for the owners of dolphinariums, who for decades now have been pulling in coachloads to see the creatures whose intelligence is allegedly second only to man's. From now on, it seems, the punters can get that experience free, from a seat in Trafalgar Square. Yet objective observers should pause before putting the pigeon on this plinth. It remains to be proved that its skill in retrieving bananas is enough in itself to serve as the proof of intelligence. It does not, for example, appear to form part of the tests you must pass for a Fellowship of All Souls. If the chimps ran round their cages rather than take their test, that may simply have been because they found the whole process demeaning. It is true that the psychologist B. F. Skinner once taught two pigeons to play a form of table tennis. But an American expert called Terrace has trained a chimp which he called Nim.

Chimpey to communicate with him (a sign language which can recognise such varied concepts as cookie, barman, toothbrush, yogurt and work. Can Dr McPhail produce a pigeon which is capable of that?

But there is a second compelling reason why the joint pre-eminence of pigeons is unlikely to be conceded without a struggle. They don't look at all like us. You can see a human resemblance in many chimpanzees. You can catch a hint of it, too, in the dolphin. If you look through half-closed eyes. But few, when they look at a pigeon, can put their hands on their hearts and say it's just like this fellow next door. And there are other practical questions. How come, if pigeons are so intelligent, that the dodo, a form of pigeon, contrived to become extinct? The dodo, according to one textbook, fell easy prey to marauding sailors, and failed to compete with livestock, especially pigs. Not much intelligence there. Still, your ordinary urban pigeon is smarter than that. Indeed, it is this very smartness which Dr McPhail, with his lights and bananas, may have actually managed to measure. Intelligence? That's not proven. But street-wise? No doubt.

# Le Monde

ENGLISH SECTION

Paris narrowly escaped what would certainly have been a carnage on Thursday, September 4, when a bomb placed in a packed rush-hour evening underground train failed to go off. Smoke from the detonator fuse alerted passengers on the east-bound RER train as it was leaving the Châtelet-Les Halles station and they promptly pulled the communication cord bringing the train to a halt. Wee it faulty wiring, or a fuse deliberately rigged to burn out without causing further reaction that prevented the dozen sticks of high explosive to which it was connected from going off?

Several indications on the explosive device, like the fact that it was wrapped in a paper bag bearing the name of a bookshop which was bombed recently, would seem to buttress the assumption it was meant to be a ghoulie warning. Responsibility

for the failed attack was claimed in a written note sent to the Lebanese daily *Al Nahar* by the CSPPA (Comité de Solidarité avec les Prisonniers Politiques Arabes et du Proche Orient). The note stated: "We hold the French government responsible for our action, for it is allowing itself to be influenced by pressures from the imperialist American government." The note then went on to demand that France free George Abdallah Ibrahim (alias Abdel Kader Esseddi, believed to be the leader of the FARL — Lebanese Armed Revolutionary Front); Aris Naccache (the leader of the hit squad which in 1980 tried to assassinate former Iranian premier Shapur Bakhtiar in Paris); and Veroulen Geredidjen, the head of the ASALA (Secret Armenian Army for Liberating Armenia) who was involved in the July 1983 bomb attack at Orly airport.

## Attempted Metro bombing puts pressure on Chirac

THE FAILED RER bomb attack has put more pressure on the government to force it to release a terrorist leader, George Abdallah Ibrahim, who was tried and convicted in Lyons. The government can now expect an unusual period of high drama. Following calls by the Interior Ministry to the public to be extremely vigilant, Prime Minister Jacques Chirac declared that "only chance" can help to foil an attack like the one planned in the RER. Interior Minister Charles Pasqua promised, when he took office, that the police would "terrorise the terrorists". But the police have no leads in the search for the perpetrators of this abortive attack, who have previously carried out several similar operations.

In an interview in *Le Matin*, the minister responsible for public safety, Robert Pandraud, said the investigation into the March 20 bombing of a shopping mall off the Champs Elysée had given no leads

"in an environment that is especially difficult to penetrate." No preventative action is then possible. Only the vigilance of the public and luck can foil terrorists. The appeal to the public has not been accompanied by any explanations of the terrorists' motives, nor consequently of the problem posed

By Patrick Jarreau

by Abdallah Ibrahim's situation. Officially nobody is saying anything about whether the man could be released by resorting to a reduction in his sentence. The current investigation into cases in which he is charged in Paris — the assassinations of an American and an Israeli diplomat — is not over. If it results in a nansuit (no case to answer), as indications in July seemed to suggest, then the French authorities will have to decide to release Abdallah Ibrahim and expel him from the was sentenced to only four years' imprisonment in

Lyons.

Pandraud emphasised that the "course of justice cannot be interrupted" and pointed out "it is unthinkable for the present government to put the least pressure on the courts." So the government's position, as explained by Pandraud, appears to be that the investigation will be neither interrupted nor speeded up towards a nonsuit.

In July when the case seemed to be heading towards a quick release for Abdallah Ibrahim, the United States (it has filed a civil suit in the case) which refused to accept the conditions laid down by the terrorists, prevailed upon Chirac to review his position. At the time Interior Minister Pasqua advocated granting quiet and effective concessions so as to spare the government from falling into traps otherwise impossible to escape, while Justice Minister Alain Chalon, who would have had

Continued on page 13

## King Cheops and the mystery of the sand

By Jean-François Augereau

were located below the gallery, the two architects asked the CPFO to carefully drill the limestone at an angle. The pyramid-builders worked in cubits (about 53 centimetres). Dormion and Gidon therefore suggested that the drill be stopped every time it sank one cubit, one-and-a-half cubits, two cubits and so on. They did well, for while Wednesday's and Thursday's results were disappointing, on Friday they were luckier.

Under the combined efforts of Jean-Pierre Batot, Jean-Claude Erling, Pierre Deléris and Yves Lemdine, who had to work in extremely cramped conditions, the rock yielded up its secret. "Through two cubits," said Montlucq, the "limestone" was very tough. "Two drill bits gave out. But after drilling 1.20 metres, the team spotted a joint between two stone slabs. Then, after drilling 80 centimetres more, they came upon a new joint corresponding to the placing of a sixth stone slab."

## Gadafy's tirade leaves nonaligned nonplussed

By Jacques de Barrin

HARARE — Colonel Gadafy had some of the guests (at the summit of the Nonaligned Movement) "in stitches", like the Zairians for example, and others smiling broadly, like the representative of an African country who found his speech "original". Yet the Libyan leader's tirade against imperialism on Thursday last week, delivered from the platform at the eighth summit of Nonaligned Movement nations, and above all the savagery he gave the movement itself ("I want to say goodbye, farewell to this funny movement, to this fallacy — farewell to this utter falsehood") left most of the delegates puzzled. Privately, however, they admitted with some embarrassment that they agreed with the heated speaker.

If there was one person, however, who took the outburst very badly, it was Zimbabwe's Prime Minister, Robert Mugabe, and the current president of the Nonaligned Movement. How else could he have reacted when Gadafy bluntly questioned the very concept of nonalignment union, darning the movement of which he had just been named president for the next three years? In a curt rejoinder to this unqualified assertion, Mugabe appealed to the audience which gave him a big hand: "I don't think everybody can uphold that our movement is a pointless even if there is room for qualitative improvements." Mr Mugabe is fulfilling his role as president when he declares that the movement is alive. "I said a member of the Libyan delegation, 'But he jolly well knows that it is in fact dead.' As he left this 'historic' session in the convention hall, President Ali Khemane of Iran congratulated Gadafy for saying out loud what everybody was saying inwardly.

"Nonalignment doesn't exist," Gadafy kept repeating all through a wide-ranging, confused and rambling speech occasionally interrupted by feeble cheers, but more

often by a noisy chorus of four tough women bodyguards in bedlames standing behind the speaker who picked up and repeated the speaker's phrases: "America can be defeated: let's rise to the challenge." The local authorities had to send for the riot police to push back some 100 Libyans who tried to force their way into the hall to act as cheerleaders.

There must be no illusions, said Gadafy. The neutrality cherished by the "Great" of the nonaligned world like Tito and Nehru is no longer an option today. "We must be completely aligned against the United States, Israel and Neto members," explained Gadafy. And he called on his listeners to choose, the "side of liberation" to choose, the "side of liberation" and combat "the opposing camp of imperialism" alongside the forces of the socialist countries.

Big countries like China and India, which have the atomic bomb to command respect, could afford to talk about neutrality. But for small states, the speaker considered, nonalignment was just fiction. He thought the "French-speaking countries are a disgrace to Africa". As for the members of the Commonwealth, it was quite simple: they "are the property of Great Britain".

Revolutionary that he is, Gadafy said he had not come to Harare to sit beside undesirable people like the representatives of countries which have recognised Israel — Cameroon, the Ivory Coast, Egypt and Zaire among others — which he described as "puppets of imperialism, agents of the United States, reactionaries, traitors and spies."

When some delegates laughed at his warnings, Gadafy cried: "You're laughing? It's shameful!" Later, however, Cameroon, the Ivory Coast and Zaire issued a communique expressing their "contempt" for Colonel Gadafy's "insane" declaration.

(September 8)

## Libyan leader highlights movement's contradictions

ALLOWANCES must be made for repentance in Colonel Gadafy's outburst at the Harare summit of Nonaligned Movement nations. The Libyan leader, who currently holds most of those attending the Harare conference in contempt, had himself proposed to host this eighth conference in heads of states and government leaders. Nonetheless, this "distracts" does have an interesting aspect. In the long history of a movement which

### COMMENT

has been so clever at refusing to see its own contradictions while preaching to the rest of the world, no one had ever put the boot in with such glee.

When the leader of the Libyan revolution wondered aloud before his stunned audience what kind of "international charade" he was taking part in, he was indicting those states which are quick to vote resolutions against Israel and South Africa while continuing to pursue profitable relations — official or not — with these self-same countries. He should also have weighed against those countries which, though they pick on the United States as the cause of all the world's ills,

but overlook the second superpower, the USSR, even aping its occupation of Afghanistan. The Colonel presents the international situation in his own way, but he is true to his own logic when he calls upon each member-state to say on which side it stands; instead of going along with a purely cosmetic unanimity.

In the era of the decolonisation struggle, the "spirit of Bandung" had brought together countries often having widely different governments and interests. Now that independence has been won, the Nonaligned Movement has a hard time finding appropriate themes for rallying its members. A minority of some 12 openly pro-Soviet states routinely propose so-called progressive resolutions that are abscondingly voted by a vast mass of countries, while another minority of pro-Western nations do not consider it necessary to contest such resolutions, which in the end are of no great practical impact.

Bregging by a Colonel Gadafy proposing to arm and train African National Congress guerrillas, and the new twist — this is mine — is introduced by Fidel

Continued on page 14







After weeks of silence, the Islamic Jihad egle manifested itself on Tuesday, September 2, when it warned that the French government would be held "responsible for any negative action" that might be taken against the hostages it holds in Lebanon and ordered it to "move away from American policy". The communiqué was accompanied by a video cassette in which one of the hostages, Jean-Paul Kauffmann, pleaded for help from the French government.

Pressure is mounting again on the French government and it seems to be coordinated in a curious way. After the recent attacks on French troops of the UNIFIL (United Nations Interim Force

"WE'RE GOING THROUGH moments of anguish and are constantly beset by thoughts of death," says Jean-Paul Kauffmann in the video cassette recorded by his kidnappers. "This is the only phrase in the statement wrung from him that we can completely believe. In their face-off with a democracy, the kidnappers are taking the easy way by forcing their captives to beg for help from perliomantorians who are free to ask their questions and journalists free to write their articles. And they use threats to get a man, who as a journalist knows the complexity of the problem, to take responsibility for their simplistic dilemma: 'See our families and children again, or die: it's up to the French government to choose.'"

In fact, the real choice, the more difficult one had to be made well before this last episode of the scenario so ingeniously concocted by the Jihad. It called for an answer to this question: is it right, is it even reasonable for a state to negotiate with those who threaten to kill one or several of

its citizens? Is it right, or even reasonable to give satisfaction or hope (as happened when two members of the Antenne 2 TV crew were released on June 20) to the kidnappers, who were credited with being quite pleased that "French policy in the Middle East was beginning to change"? The state, subjected to extortion, finds its reward in the joy of reunions which temporarily diverts attention from the humiliation suffered and the ever-present threat.

#### COMMENT

## Hostages appeal for government action

But this kind of cruel law very quickly comes into its own again. The moment the financial negotiations with Iran (over repayment of an advance paid by the former

Shah of Iran) hit a snag or drag on, or the members of the hit squad that tried to murder Shapur Bakhtiar are kept in prison, a despairing hostage immediately pops up on television screens. If the hostages are all freed, tomorrow the blackmailers will go looking for others in an inexhaustible reservoir.

When Prime Minister Jacques Chirac obtained the release of the first two hostages by going about it much more discreetly than previous governments had done, but also by quite definitely bending his policy far more than he might have done had he not been under pressure, that

voices a genuine cry of despair and says he risks death if the French government does not change its policy and meet his kidnappers' demands. Wearing a tee-shirt and freshly shaved, Kauffmann looks quite haggard. He explains in a jerky voice: "Anything may happen... We're tired, nervously exhausted, sick; our friends must put urgent pressure on our leaders — I repeat, urgent pressure — and do so before our kidnappers lose patience."

Since two other French hostages, Philippe Rochot and Georges Hansen (part of a TV crew), were released on June 20, "wa got the impression," says Kauffmann, "that our leaders, having obtained a gesture, were no longer

interested in us... In short, we feel we have been completely abandoned."

Apert from Kauffmann, the Islamic Jihad movement apparently also holds five other French notionalists two diplomats — Marcel Carton and Marcel Fontaine (since March 22, 1985), a research worker, Michel Scurat (kidnapped at the same time as Knuffmann, Scurat's "execution" was announced by the Jihad on March 5 this year; and two members of an Antenne 2 television crew — Jean-Louis Normandin and Aurel Cornee, who were captured on March 8. In his video statement, Kauffmann hinted he was being detained in the company of Carton and Fontaine.

promising start seemed to justify all hopes. It was perhaps a trap deliberately set to raise the stakes.

Has Paris made the mistake of taking the kidnappers and the power — inspiring them to be like businessmen who are unscrupulous about the methods they use and tough in their bargaining practices, but in the final analysis on the level?

It is not impossible that Iran, involved in an insane and ruinous war which it refuses to end against every rational consideration, needs not only money to finance its fight and the weapons to continue it. Perhaps it also aspires, like its allies in Lebanon — a fractional splinter group of a shattered society — to "punish" France "the ally of Iraq and the United States" and make its position untenable. The government, which assures it is continuing its efforts to obtain the hostages' release (this is the least it can be expected to do), cannot give into blackmail.

(September 4)

## Are French police vigilantes threatening war on Arabs?

HAS A GROUP of conspirators inside the French national police or French intelligence decided to act on its own initiative if the government dithers about taking firm measures against Arabs alleged to be operating in France as agents of fundamentalist Shiite factions? Senior Interior Ministry officials have been quite seriously debating this matter since several French newspapers, including Le Monde, received an anonymous note early in June threatening tit-for-tat retaliation if the French hostages in Lebanon were not released.

The typewritten, duplicated message, signed by a mystery organisation calling itself the "French Liberation Front" (Front français de libération), accused the French government of "prostituting" itself to Iran, Syria and Libya in negotiations over the hostages' release. "That's enough, you don't negotiate with terrorists," said the message, and went on to give the names and addresses of three

persons on its hit list — Lebanese nationals living in France — whom it accused of working for the Hezbollah or the Amel movement.

At the end of August Le Monde received another message from the French Liberation Front. The government, it said in effect, was doing a good job of countering home-grown terrorism, but unfortunately the same could not be said of the struggle against "Islamic terrorism". As a result, France "is currently serving as a reorganisation base" for the "FARL (Lebanese Armed Revolutionary Front), Amal and other Hezbollah groups" which were "restructuring themselves" and getting ready for an "explosive comeback". The message announced: "We have in our possession the identities and addresses of the main Amal, FARL and Hezbollah leaders in France. We are giving the government another chance to stop crawling before Arab terrorists. After that, we'll do

what has to be done."

Presumably concerned about not being taken seriously, the Front sent confidential details along with its last message to buttress its credibility. The information concerned, among other things, the July 9, 1988 bomb explosion in Paris which destroyed the premises of the BRB (Brigade de Répression du Banditisme — crime squad) killing one person and injuring several others severely. Responsibility for the explosion was claimed by the terrorist group Action Directe and generalist attributed to Max Frérot, one of the group's Lyona members. Now

By Georges Marion

here comes the French Liberation Front with a claim that the explosive used in that attack was a "high-fragmentation" type not usually employed in France but common in Lebanon and West Germany.

The conclusion is self-evident: the attack on the BRB was carried out either by a German or a Middle East group. By an odd coincidence, a four-men group of "Lebanese terrorists" arrived in Bordeaux at that time, but the French police, though tipped off in time, did nothing about it. The Front's message provides comprehensive personal data concerning the four alleged terrorists and is accompanied by a photocopy of an excerpt from a confidential Italian security service document on another Lebanese who is described as the group's "coordinator" and is "suspected of having assassinated the American diplomat Rey Leeman Hunt, who was killed in Rome on February 15, 1984."

So many precise details are worrying the Interior Ministry. For while the BRB's responsibility for the attack is still unproven, it is undoubtedly true that the explosive used is of a type more common in Lebanon than in France. Furthermore, the Bordeaux Lebanese do indeed exist. Tipped off by an informant and picked out when

they arrived in France by the border police, they were kept under surveillance by the intelligence services and the DST. But, wa are told, apart from the fact that they are Shi'ites, nothing can be held against them.

The French Liberation Front also refers to another case of terrorism. It says that some 1,000 highly precise timing devices, which could be utilised for making time-action bombs, were seized by the DST. While conducting its inquiries, the DST looked into the activities of a firm specialising in distributing equipment used for protection, eavesdropping and anti-terrorist work. But, say the anonymous informers, the DST's efforts were deliberately antedogged, because the firm in question also works with certain official French departments.

(Since the disclosure of this information, Erwin Egger, a Swiss citizen and an international businessman, has been charged in Paris in connection with examining magistrate Jean-Claude Vuillemin's investigation into violations of French laws on arms and war equipment. Egger, 49, is chairman and managing director of Dioptra, a Swiss industrial firm specialising in precision machinery, in addition to being a director of another similar firm, Decobul.

The two companies are based in the city of Bulla, near Fribourg. The French examining magistrate, and counterespionage police are trying to find out for whom Egger was buying the timers and whether they might have been intended for Middle Eastern terrorists. The mysterious French Liberation Front had described the timers as "ultra-sophisticated and in particular undetectable, which can be preprogrammed for up to 12 hours and have an independent operational life of one year. The SCTA timer model is in great demand among terrorists" (Egger has been released under court jurisdiction.)

As in the earlier instance, the charges are backed up by details, some of which are approximate or untrue, but many are telling for the confidential information they

disclose. It is true, for example, that after 988 timing devices were seized in Paris, a judicial inquiry was instituted on May 23 into violations of the law on arms and war materials. Examining magistrate Jean-Claude Vuillemin was in charge of the inquiry which was entrusted to the DST. The inquiry is still proceeding. Interior Ministry sources admit it is a "very serious" matter. It is clear the people hiding behind the FFL are well placed in the French anti-terrorist system.

It is not the first time that a "vigilante" organisation has attracted public attention by going to the press. Twice before, in 1974 and 1975, a group calling itself the Front français de libération Nationale wrote to Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, when he was President, to urge him to take a harder line. If he did not, the Front threatened, it would act. Several years later responsibility for several attacks was claimed by the Front. And finally in 1985, anti-Arab handbills, signed by a French Liberation Front, were distributed on two occasions.

Apart from the close resemblance between the two signatures, there is nothing to show that today's anonymous informers are of the same kind. The Interior Ministry has only presumptions to go on for the moment: they are either extreme rightwing policemen acting in accordance with their own convictions or policemen manipulated by a foreign service. What it finds most worrying is the nature of the confidential information revealed: "It's the sign of a particularly lively political manoeuvre," considers an aide of Robert Pandraud, the Public Security Minister.

(September 3)

**Le Monde**  
Directeur: André Fontaine  
World copyright by  
© La Presse, Paris  
All rights strictly reserved.

# The Washington Post

## Failed Assassination

THE ATTEMPT to assassinate General Augusto Pinochet constitutes a severe setback to any hope for an easy or early return to democracy in Chile. The Manuel Rodríguez Patriotic Front, a guerrilla organization on the fringes of the Communist Party, says that it was responsible for the ambush; the general survived, but five of his bodyguards did not. The Front says that it will try again. Meanwhile the general has his troops combing savagely through Santiago for the perpetrators. He has also taken the opportunity to shut down a number of publications, arrest a couple of politicians who appear to have had nothing to do with the affair, and return the country to a state of siege, which legally allows the army with authority to do just about whatever it pleases in the name of rooting out the enemy.

General Pinochet's junta and its most extreme adversaries have much in common. Both rely on violence. Each presents itself as the only means of rescue from the other. Each draws its political strength from the excesses of the other. It is an example of political symbiosis of a most unwholesome sort.

Chile is now the most conspicuous laggard in South America's return to democracy. Among the larger countries, and those moving along the road to industrialization, all but Chile are now under elected governments. The United States, among others, has been trying to nudge General Pinochet in the same direction. But the general's most recent response was the declaration, earlier this summer, that he expects to run for another eight-year term when his present one ends in 1989. He claims to be leading the country toward democracy, but he evidently sees no need to hurry.

Going after him with machine guns will not accelerate progress toward a better government. The junta was brought to power by the rising disorder, and widespread fears of worse to come, under Salvador Allende's left-wing government in the early 1970s. By resorting to the claim by which General Pinochet has perpetuated his hold on the country for the past 13 years — that he and the junta are the sole alternative to chaos and destruction. In fact, there are other far more promising possibilities. Chile has had much democratic experience, and successfully maintained a long constitutional tradition until the military coup. There are many Chileans who know how to make democracy work, and are deeply committed to it. But when the generals and the terrorists begin to go after each other, the democratic center is squeezed so hard that it can barely breathe.

## Daniloff Formally Charged

By Gary Lee

MOSCOW — American journalist Nicholas Daniloff was indicted Sunday on charges of espionage against the Soviet Union, in a move that U.S. and Soviet officials said could pose a serious new obstacle to efforts to improve relations between the two superpowers.

Daniloff, the correspondent here for U.S. News & World Report, is the first American journalist to be formally charged by Soviet authorities with espionage, on offense that can carry the death penalty.

There was no indication when Daniloff would be put on trial, and he was told a colleague by telephone Sunday he understood that the investigation could last six months or more. Without elaborating, however, he also said, "I received oblique hints that it will and before being brought to court."

The indictment was publicly announced Sunday night on the evening news on Soviet state television, after Daniloff had informed Jeff Trimble, also a U.S. News & World Report correspondent here, in a telephone call from Lefortovo Prison, where he has been held since being arrested.

Earlier, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennady Gerasimov, appearing on CBS-TV's "Face the Nation," had said that Daniloff was about to be charged and "there is going to be a trial."

Daniloff, who was about to end a 5-year assignment here, was seized by KGB secret police agents Aug. 30 moments after he received an envelope from a longtime Soviet acquaintance. Daniloff said he had expected the envelope to contain newspaper clippings. But when the KGB opened it, Daniloff told Mortimer Zuckerman, chairman of U.S. News & World Report, who visited him in prison, it turned out to hold photographs of military

installations and negatives of maps.

Gerasimov, interviewed from here by CBS-TV Sunday, said, "If you think he is innocent, we can learn pretty soon because there is going to be a trial." Gerasimov also charged that Daniloff "doesn't deny the things that he got in that unfortunate envelope were secret ones" and he said that "my understanding is that this particular envelope is not the only thing that they have against him." He would give no details.

"Let us not make this case a hostage for Soviet-American relations," Gerasimov said, observing that "if you really want to ruin Soviet-American rapprochement, you can always find something happening here or there."

The formal announcement of the indictment and trial plans marked the beginning of a tougher official line here against Daniloff. The official Soviet Communist Party newspaper Pravda, breaking a weeklong silence on the case, attacked Daniloff and his American supporters, including Secretary of State George P. Shultz.

Western diplomats here interpret Moscow's threat of a trial and the hardened official line as a signal that the Kremlin is unlikely to accept any early resolution of the Daniloff case short of a direct swap of the American reporter for Gennadi Zakharov, the Soviet U.N. employee who was arrested on espionage charges in the United States and is being held for trial. The Daniloff arrest came exactly one week after the FBI arrested Zakharov moments after he paid a New York man for what U.S. officials said were classified documents.

"My case is moving into a more serious phase," Daniloff told Jeff Trimble's wife, Gretchen, who accompanied him to the prison. "I'm not sure if it's a good thing or a bad thing, but I'm not sure."

"My case is moving into a more serious phase," Daniloff told Jeff Trimble's wife, Gretchen, who accompanied him to the prison. "I'm not sure if it's a good thing or a bad thing, but I'm not sure."

## Survivors Tell Of Pakistan Hijack Ordeal

KARACHI — President Zia said on Sunday that Pakistan would try the four hijackers of Pan American World Airways Flight 073 and pointedly noted that the country's terrorism law calls for the death penalty.

Zia said interrogation of the hijackers, one of whom was wounded during the violent conclusion of the incident Friday night, revealed that they were Palestinians but that "whatever facts have been revealed so far" show that they have no connection with any government.

The Pakistani president's comments came during a press conference moments after his return from the Nonaligned Movement summit in Zimbabwe and only hours after survivors of the hijacking began to leave the country.

Between 50 and 75 Americans left on Sunday afternoon aboard a special Pan American flight to Frankfurt and New York by the same route that was to have been flown by Flight 073 before it was stormed by four gunmen early Friday morning on the tarmac of Karachi International Airport.

Eighty-nine Indian nationals, including 16 stretcher cases and four or five in wheelchairs, also left on Sunday afternoon aboard a special Indian Airlines flight to Bombay. Also aboard the plane were six coffins containing the remains of persons believed to be Indian citizens killed during the Indian moments of the hijacking. Indian diplomats said late Sunday afternoon that one or two more of the 18 dead have been identified as being Indian. About half of the 389 passengers aboard the aircraft were Indians. The flight originated in Bombay.

At least one more body has been identified as that of an American, bringing the number of American dead to three. Only one, Rajesh Kumar, has been publicly identified. Officials have been hampered in identifying some of the dead because passports had been taken from the passengers in the early stages of the hijacking.

During his press conference, Zia noted the long history of Pakistani support for the Palestinian homeland cause and expressed bewilderment at why Palestinians would carry out such a violent incident on Pakistani soil. The four hijackers were between the ages of 19 and 25 and were "youngsters, very motivated and highly volatile."

The hijackers had demanded that the plane be flown to Cyprus to free "friends" in prison there. Officials involved in the incident have speculated that these unnamed "friends" were four persons being held in a Cypriot prison near Larnaca.

Three of the persons believed to have been the object of the hijackers' demands were convicted in December of the September 1985 murder of three Israelis on a yacht in a Larnaca marina. The three, two Arabs and a Briton, are serving life sentences. The fourth is believed to be a Lebanese man who was recently arrested but is not believed to have been charged with any crime.

Zia said the military's reaction to the incident was "professional and bravely handled." He rejected Indian Prime Minister Rajiv

Gandhi's charge that Pakistan "bungled" the handling of the hijacking.

"The result was what we expected," he said. "If 15 minutes had elapsed... the result would have been far worse," Zia said. "It would have been hundreds" killed, he said, by the indiscriminate shooting, and the hijackers would have had time to detonate explosive charges they had placed in the plane.

He sharply rejected suggestions that security forces did not reach the aircraft until 15 minutes after the hijackers had opened fire on the passengers when the plane's power supply failed. Officials said on Sunday the commandos were only 200 yards from the plane and only hours after survivors of the hijacking began to leave the country.

The end of the drama came 16 hours after it began when a generator supplying light and air conditioning to the aircraft as it stood at one end of the terminal tarmac began to fail and finally plunged the plane into darkness.

"Everything was normal until the terrorists got angry after the power and air conditioning went off at 9:45," said Wondron Dirk, a 22-year-old West German who was hit by two bullets in the legs.

"It was a holocaust," said Hussain Shaif, 27, a laboratory technician from Reston, Va. "They (the hijackers) gathered all of us

By Richard M. Weintraub

together and started shooting at us. The women were shouting, children were crying... The blood was all over. When we were getting out, it was all liquid, all blood."

According to officials and passengers, the incident began shortly after 6 a.m. as the plane almost had completed landing for the continuation of its flight.

Four men wearing the blue uniforms of the Pakistan Airport Security Force drove up to the plane in a Suzuki van similar to those used by the force. Suddenly they opened fire with automatic weapons and submachine guns, rushing the plane's stairway.

Amil Ghazi of Rawalpindi, Pakistan, was among the last of the passengers to get off the bus and head toward the plane when he suddenly heard shooting. "I looked at the top of the staircase and saw a security force man holding an air

hostess with a gun to her head," he said later in the airport terminal. The gunmen ordered passengers from the first-class section to move into the area leading to the economy section. They ordered two Pan Am crew members still aboard the plane to contact the control tower. The three-member cockpit crew had escaped through an emergency hatch as the hijackers stormed the plane.

As they continued to hold the stewardesses at gunpoint, Rajesh Kumar, a young Indian-American, began to argue with the hijackers, urging them to treat the stewardesses with more compassion. At that point, according to an Indian passenger from Bombay who did not want to be named, one of the hijackers, grabbed Mr. Kumar, shot him in the back of the head and shoved him out of the plane.

As the heat of the day began to

build, the hijackers demanded that a new crew be sent, including someone who spoke Arabic, and that the plane be flown to Cyprus. By late afternoon, officials had won a pledge from the hijackers to release women and children if the new crew was provided.

As darkness began to fall on the airport, which continued to function with almost normal flights throughout the drama, Pakistani officials moved a force of trained commandos into the airport fuel storage area which provided cover only several hundred feet from the parked aircraft.

At this point, the stage was set for the final hours of Flight 073, with the critical element being the generator supplying power for the parked aircraft. The hijackers became increasingly nervous as the lights and air conditioning began to fail.

Passengers later said they were ordered to gather in the center section of the plane and as the lights became dimmer, the hijackers, who up to then were said to have been friendly with the passengers, pushed them closer and closer together.

It was shortly after 9 p.m. when the generator began to fail. Passengers interviewed later said they had detected no outside movement when the shooting began between 10 and 10:15. The gunmen sprayed passengers with bullets and hand grenades reportedly were thrown.

Shaif, the Virginia lab technician, explained that after the lights went off the hijackers started speaking in Arabic and then made everyone crowd together. "They knew it was time to start killing," Shaif said, describing how the hijackers then threw three or four grenades and sprayed machine gun fire at the passengers for what he estimated as seven or eight minutes. "I thought I would be dead. I wasn't expecting to live. I couldn't believe they would shoot at kids and women and old men."

Shaif ducked under a seat and survived. He said he tried to help a wounded passenger next to him, but it was too late: "I tried to lift him, but he was finished. I think a grenade hit him."

Di Melhart, 44, of Pullman, Washington, said: "The people in the front rows were really vulnerable. I was facing backward and the people in front of me were badly shot up."

Amid the screaming and panic, Mr. Melhart said, he "made up my mind I had to do something." He shouted at a stewardess next to him to open the emergency door over one wing of the aircraft.

"Open the door, open the goddamn door!" he shouted. But the stewardess was frozen in place. "I jumped over him and crouched down behind the seats and began to open the door. I had to rotate the handle 180 degrees, but it went about 140 and stuck. I stood up to try to get more leverage and a bullet went right in front of me. It didn't take much effort then to get it open."

Mr. Melhart said he found himself on the wing of the plane, and "it was a long way down. I saw the escape chute from the next emergency door open. I looked at the distance, and when there was a break in the people tumbling out, I took a running jump and landed right on the chute."

As the heat of the day began to



## Iran On The Move

THE FIERCE HEAT of midsummer is abating in the Persian Gulf, and weather more suitable for land warfare is returning. The buildup of troops on Iran's side of the front in its long, grinding war with Iraq suggests a major offensive this autumn, and possibly a climax to the war itself. Iran's purpose in seizing a Soviet freighter and holding it overnight remains unclear, and it may turn out to reflect nothing more than a tightening of nerves as both sides sense a turning point ahead.

The war has been going on for years, and resources on both sides are severely depleted. Even with substantial financial help from Arab oil producers, Iraq is now on the defensive. But while Iran bides the upper hand, it has taken enormous casualties and with the fall in oil prices it is constrained by lack of funds. Perhaps that pressure is contributing to the apparent intention of Iran to try to force the fighting, at last, to a conclusion.

The United States is in an unpleasant position. It has immense interests at stake in the outcome of this war, and very little influence over it. If the Iraqis should somehow manage to bring the affair to a halt along the lines of the status quo, that would constitute a substantial setback to Iranian national ambitions and to the religious movement that has inflamed them. But if Iran should somehow manage to crack Iraq's formidable defenses, the wave of Iranian-style radical fundamentalism would sweep more strongly than ever throughout the Middle East to the peril of many other governments there.

The fighting is almost within artillery range of Kuwait, which has no military force to speak of. Beyond it lies Saudi Arabia, which, despite its large expenditures on armaments, is hardly prepared to withstand a serious attack. But Iran might find that it did not have to attack. It might find that the threat alone sufficed to enforce its wishes. We saw evidence of that effect last month when OPEC (i.e., Saudi Arabia) came to a pricing agreement much closer than previously to Iran's demands.

The British Navy policed the Persian Gulf and enforced stability until it was withdrawn in the late 1960s and early 1970s. American policy then tried to build the Shah's Iran into a force that could take over that role. The revolution demolished all hope that Iran would stabilize the region on any terms acceptable to the West. But it remains potentially the strongest of the countries that touch the Gulf, and the United States has not found the manne to limit its growing influence.

## Begging The Russians

A FEW weeks ago the U.S. government offered the Soviet Union a subsidy if only it would keep its word and buy a certain amount of U.S. grain this year. The Soviets have now dismissed the subsidy as insufficient. The administration's response has been to offer to sweeten it. It is a craven posture; we are begging them to buy our wheat.

The subsidy was offered for the wrong reasons in the first place. Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole pressed it. His only idea was and remains to placate enough wheat farmers to keep the Senate in Republican hands this fall. Such figures as Secretary of State George Shultz resisted in vain. So first the administration knelt to the farmers; now it is kneeling to the Soviets as well. "Embarrassing," says Sen. Richard Lugar, the chairman of Foreign Relations. Though also a senior member of the Agriculture Committee and from a farm state, Mr. Lugar opposed the original offer. The new entreaty "demeans the process further," in his view.

Export subsidies have always been a fool's game. The basic farm problem is that the world is now growing more grain than it can buy; that is why prices and exports both are low. The problem in this country is exacerbated by relatively high farm prices and income supports. These are encouraging farmers to keep up production, but deterring foreign buyers. The farmers produce for the government, at great cost to the taxpayers. The idea of export subsidies is to have the taxpayers then pay a second time to bring prices back down for foreign sale. But these subsidies can't compete with fundamental market forces. They cause other countries that can afford it to retaliate. Those that can't afford it lose foreign exchange. These are often countries that, in other contexts, the United States is trying to help. When the subsidies then go, as here, to adversaries, policy is upside down.

The Soviets have just kidnapped a U.S. citizen, journalist Nicholas Daniloff. He was convenient; they needed someone to trade for an accused spy. These are the people we are importing to use our tax funds to lower their food prices. Come back, George Orwell.

## Daniloff Formally Charged

Continued from page 15

sawed the telephone when he called his home from prison Sunday afternoon. "The charge of espionage puts it on a par with no other case we know," he said, in a clear reference to Zakhurov, whose release the Soviets have demanded.

Daniloff earlier rejected a swap, but his position appears to have softened after a week of KGB interrogation. "The quickest solution would be if the two cases could be looked at on an equal basis," he said in Sunday's call, according to Gretchen Trimble. But he also told Jaff Trimble in the same call that he personally favored a solution in which the charges against him would be dropped, and he would be released.

Sunday's announcements indicate that the original U.S. bid to gain Daniloff's freedom had been rejected in Moscow. Reagan administration officials proposed that

Zakhurov be released to the custody of the Soviet ambassador in Washington while awaiting trial. In exchange Daniloff would go free, according to the proposal.

The formal charging also implies that President Reagan's appeal to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev to free Daniloff, sent in a letter Friday and publicized Saturday, also was turned down.

Joanne Omong writes: Secretary of State Shultz expressed "outrage" at the detention of Daniloff and rejected any direct tradeoff for his release. "Let there be no talk of a trade for Daniloff," he said. "We and Nick himself have ruled that out."

"Our traditions of free inquiry and openness are spurned by the Soviets," showing "the dark side of a society prepared to resort to hostage-taking as an instrument of policy."

## Europe's Left Could Finish NATO

WASHINGTON — Within 18 months, some axioms of America's postwar defense policy may face their greatest challenge in 40 years. And it will not be the Soviet Union that asks the questions, but two of America's closest allies, Great Britain and West Germany.

The challenge to NATO defense grows out of domestic politics in the two countries, and it illustrates the slow unravelling of the premises that once underlay the Atlantic alliance. In both Britain and Germany, the leading opposition parties are heading for elections advocating at least a partial withdrawal of American nuclear weapons from their territory. Conservative parties, committed to maintaining the nuclear status quo, may yet triumph in both countries, but not without a wrenching debate.

What makes this electoral challenge awkward is that it leaves the United States little room to maneuver. If a new British government should demand the removal of American Cruise missiles from Britain in two years, where could the missiles be relocated? Certainly not in Germany, where the opposition is already demanding the removal of the Cruise missiles based there now.

Britain, long regarded by Americans as the bulwark of NATO, poses the most interesting challenge. With a general election less than two years away (it must be held by June 1988), the Labor party holds a consistent lead over Margaret Thatcher's Conservative government in the polls. On taking office, Labor says it would:

• "Take appropriate steps" to secure the removal of all American nuclear missiles and delivery systems from Britain and its territorial waters. This would mean the closure of all Cruise missile bases, F111 aircraft bases (it was British-based F111s that bombed Tripoli earlier this year), and nuclear submarine facilities in Scotland.

• Cancel the Thatcher government's plans to purchase Trident submarines. Labor would also decommission Polaris, Britain's aging "independent" strategic system, which Trident is designed to replace.

• Urge NATO to adopt a "no-first-use" policy for nuclear weapons and seek the removal of all battlefield (as well as strategic) nuclear weapons from NATO's central front.

Labor isn't alone in its anti-nuclear stance. Britain's third political force — the Alliance between the Social Democratic and Liberal parties, which may well hold the balance of power in the next parliament — has its own plans to reduce Britain's nuclear arsenal. The Alliance would:

• Press NATO to adopt policies that are "obviously defensive," based on the concepts of minimum deterrence and greater reliance on conventional forces.

• Ask the West (meaning America) to propose a moratorium on the deployment of new strategic systems.

• Call for a negotiated freeze on deployment of intermediate missiles in Europe, with the West taking a lead by halting further deployment of Cruise and Pershing II missiles pending an agreement with the Warsaw pact.

• Cancel Trident.

Many Liberals and some Social Democrats would go further. They would decommission Polaris as well, and some of them would call for the removal of American nuclear bases from Britain. In any realistic projection of the result of the British general election, the Liberals will win more seats in parliament than the Social Democrats, adding weight to the anti-nuclear coalition.

The situation in West Germany is very similar. The opposition Social Democratic Party heads toward next January's Bundestag elections with a policy that calls for halting deployment of American nuclear missiles in West Germany and the removal of those already there; opposition to America's Strategic Defense Initiative; and a more defensive posture for NATO troops on the central European front.

Things could go right for Washington, if, of course, in Germany, the conservative forces of Chancellor Helmut Kohl — which are well ahead in the polls — could win again, just as they did in 1983. Or the Social Democrats could find room in their party platform for a more cautious approach. Their party spokesmen have been trying to reassure Americans in recent weeks that they are not committed to a unilateral removal or freeze of American weapons, and would link removal of American missiles to drastic cuts in Soviet Euro-missiles.

Britain, too, could avoid falling off the cliff. Prime Minister Thatcher's parliamentary majority is so huge that she could perhaps hold onto enough seats to stay in power without support from any other party.

But under the skillful leadership of Neil Kinnock, the Labor party's prospects improve every day. And even if Labor failed to gain a majority and was forced to rely on tacit Alliance support, the only bright spot from the American standpoint would be that the Social Democrats would fight to prevent the closure of American nuclear bases.

No wonder senior Reagan administration officials are worried, or that they cite political developments in Britain as one of the most serious problems that lie ahead for the United States during the next several years.

For sooner or later, if present trends continue, at least one European country is very likely to have a government with a defense policy miles away from that held by any conceivable administration in Washington.

How did we get into this mess? An analysis of the changing nature of

By Michael Elliott

the Labor Party provides some clues. Labor has always been a flexible coalition, and on no subject have its divisions been so apparent as defense. Since 1945, two intellectual streams have competed for the soul of the party.

On the one hand have been unabashed Atlanticists — people like former prime minister James Callaghan or former defense minister Denis Healey — with no illusions about the Soviet Union, and close personal relationships with senior American policymakers.

On the other there have been a few (but not many) fellow-travelers, more neutralists, and a much larger body that is genuinely horrified by the prospect of nuclear war and determined that Britain should do all it can to avert it. The 40-year tussle between those two views has done more than anything else to lose votes for Labor.

That long struggle is now over. Neil Kinnock, Labor's leader, is a unilateral disarmer, albeit (in Labor's terms) a realistic one. And he leads a party in which Atlanticism has lost credibility. Why?

A common explanation is that Europeans and Americans have a different view of Russia. "We share the same continent," it is glibly said of the Russians by hopeful Europeans. It won't wash. Unless the geography books deceive, this is the same continent which for most of the last 40 years has been delighted to have American protection, and to lap up American culture.

No amount of new street-wise style in Moscow is likely to make borscht and cabbage as popular as hamburgers and "Dallas." A European attitude to defense which tilts, however slightly, to Russian ends rather than American ones cannot be explained by a love of all things Russian. That leaves as the only plausible explanation a suspicion of some things American.

This suspicion of America can be explained in terms of changing generations. The European left-of-center politicians now leaving the stage or singing their last aria in politics — men like Helmut Schmidt or Denis Healey — grew up with an America that was comfortable and familiar. American troops had fought side-by-side with British, American money had revitalized the German economy.

At a hundred meetings in

Woods, Europeans and East Coast Americans found they had the same view of the world, the same educational background, the same liberal ideas. It was a world made in the image of the Anglo-American establishment, and it was shattered by the same thing that destroyed that establishment: the Vietnam War.

Curiously enough, the cleavage in political thought that were exposed by Vietnam have been at least as long-lasting in Europe as in America. The new generation of left-of-center politicians in Europe cut their teeth in opposition to the Vietnam War. They reached political maturity during the presidency of a man whom no European system could possibly have expelled to leadership — and they have thus decided that he is unworthy of that role.

So every twitch of American muscles, in Libya, Grenada or Lebanon, is interpreted as evidence that the old common language between the European and American political elites is devoid of content.

The failure of Atlanticism has another important consequence. For if European politicians feel that they cannot look across the Atlantic for cultural and political support, they will increasingly look to each other — and are already doing so.

The Labor party and the German Social Democrats have a joint defense commission; the Germans talk to the French Gaullists; Neil Kinnock provides discreet support to Spain's Felipe Gonzalez. Package holidays, soccer, and the spread of the English language across the continent (perhaps the greatest legacy of American hegemony in Europe) are combining in their different ways to make Europeans start to find some common political ground.

I have twice lived in America, but I have not the slightest doubt that I feel more at home in Paris or Rome than in New York or on Maryland's Eastern Shore.

This small political movement — and Americans still have no idea how hard it is for Europeans, only 40 years after the war, to come together — is one that successive American administrations have supposedly encouraged. Yet in the context of divergent attitudes to nuclear weapons, it can be argued that it is fought with danger.

No European left-of-center party yet argues that Europe should become a third superpower. All of them, even the Labor Party, insist that their policies are consistent with continued membership of NATO. But electoral trends over the next two years could produce precisely the threat to NATO that everybody supposedly wants to avoid.

Consider this scenario: One European government sends American missiles home. The U.S. administration, with Congressional support, decides to remove its troops from that country as well — and there can be little doubt that American troops would leave Britain if Labor's policy was implemented. There would then be a tremendous incentive for Europeans to form a defense policy of their own. It is unlikely, given growing public and Congressional doubts about defending Europe, that anyone outside the Beltway would try to stop them. Bye-bye NATO.

For Europeans this would be dangerous, as it would give the Russians a window of opportunity on the central front. It would also be ironic, since any Europe-without-America would probably have a German hegemony. It would hardly be comforting for Americans, either. The dilemma is thus particularly acute: Everybody wants greater European unity; but nobody wants to see it at the cost of adding a third element to a world complicated enough with two.

It is not surprising that many European politicians, of all colors, are playing for an arms-control agreement between the superpowers, soon; that can soften the great European defense debate before it gets out of control.

At a hundred meetings in

Michael Elliott is a Washington correspondent for The Economist.

## How The KGB Performs Its Dirty Tricks

By Kevin Klose

IT WAS the summer of 1980 and we were four: two American correspondents and two Russian university students eager to practice their English.

We had met by chance earlier in a train station in Riga, the capital of Soviet Latvia, where David Satter and I were staying. The two had helped us find an elektrichka commuter train, to a beach resort outside the city, then we parted company.

But after several hours sunbathing by ourselves, the same young men unexpectedly reappeared and invited us to lunch at a restaurant they knew of not far away. Satter, a Chicagoan who had been reporting from Moscow for four years for the London Financial Times, and I, based in Moscow for three years for The Post, were beguiled by their smiling friendliness.

So, amid pleasant, off-hand conversation about issues great and small, we walked along the beach, past families lounging on blankets, past the umbrellas, the brightly painted kiosk selling hot sausages, soda and ice cream.

The path led up onto dunes behind the beach. With each step, the sounds of waves breaking and children playing at seaside faded, replaced by seagulls in pines.

We continued for about 20 minutes. I glanced up from the path. No other vacationers were in sight. A sudden chill tingled my spine. "How far to go?" I asked bluntly.

"Oh, just a little further," said one of the students.

We walked onward. The pines seemed denser, cutting down clear view. I began walking carefully for any sign of a restaurant. There was none. No boardwalk paths, no road, no tour buses. Now, my steps dragged. Uneasy foreboding gripped me. Where exactly were we headed?

I touched Satter lightly on the back. "Is this a Robin Knight gambit?" I muttered.

Satter stopped dead in his tracks. We glanced around at the empty forest, at the sun glinting through the branches, at our two companions, standing a few steps farther on, beckoning and smiling fixedly at us. Just a few weeks earlier, the KGB had waylaid Robin Knight, Moscow correspondent for U.S. News and World Report, while he was traveling with his wife through Central Asia. Their touristic guide had smilingly taken the Knights to a restaurant outside Tashkent, put him into convulsions with a single shot glass of drugged vodka, then tried to jail him for drunkenness.

But the plot had failed because Jean Knight refused to drink the vodka forced on her. With luck and pluck, she had extricated her husband and got him back to Moscow safely. He was denounced just the same by the controlled Soviet press.

The emiles.

Was a restaurant behind the next sandy hill? Was that the joke our companions shared? Or would it turn out to be an unmarked building the Soviets would claim was a military installation — after our arrest on false charges?

Or was there no cause for alarm at all? We strained to separate real from surreal. Seconds ticked by. I could bear my pulse jumping.

Then David nodded his head in agreement.

"I've walked too far, I'm tired, I'm going back," I announced. And we turned quickly and walked off the way we had come.

The Russians said nothing at this sudden aboutface, and did nothing. Wars they stunned by our rudeness? Or had they just lost a variation on a Robin Knight gambit?

I'll never know. But I can still recall the way the foreboding grew, the clear sense that we were dangerously near to unknowable trouble at the hands of two young men whom we did not know.

And yet, we could have easily been mistaken, victims of our own Western paranoia.

Now, six years later — with U.S. News and World Report correspondent Nicholas Daniloff under arrest by the Soviets on trumped-up charges of espionage — the scene on the seashore near Riga seems as clear to me as if it had happened today. It is, strange, but what remains clearest of all is the very ambiguity of the episode, the way that apprehension suddenly darted in from the unseen edge of an outwardly normal encounter.

For ambiguity is the essence of life for an American correspondent in Moscow — even in broad daylight on a summer seashore, just

a short distance from a beach crowded with vacationers.

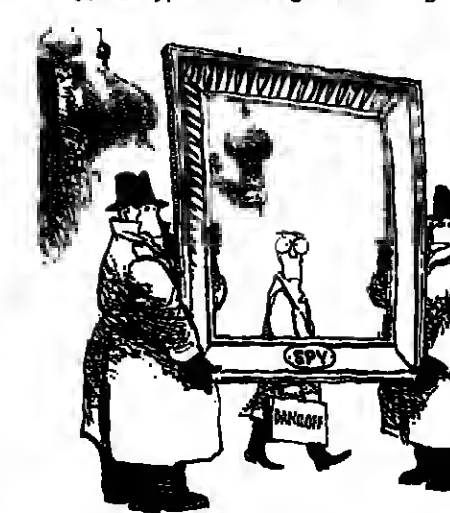
Where do such feelings come from? What gives them power?

Answers to such questions can be found in many places, some of them strange to people (including reporters) nurtured in a society that generally respects privacy and the right of free speech. One place to start is by recognizing the historic suspicion that Russians have for outsiders. Layered on top of that is a totalitarian regime that is bent on maintaining power by stamping out dissidence before it can spread and is willing to use extraordinary means to do so. As a result, one can never be sure when encountering Soviet citizens in seemingly casual circumstances if they are what they appear to be — or something else, agents or tools of the KGB. One learns to wonder even whether Soviet friends are really that.

Western journalists, especially Americans, are prime targets. The three dozen or so American reporters based in Moscow for the bourgeois imperialist superpower adversary's major newspapers, two wire services, news magazines and television networks enjoy a unique status. As working stiff of the world's freest, most powerful, and often most inquisitive media, they are permanent objects of special dislike by Soviet security organs charged with concealing many truths about life in their country from all foreigners.

Attempts to divide the U.S. press from Soviet people begin at our Moscow front doors. Most of the several thousand foreign businessmen, diplomats, correspondents resident in the Soviet capital are kept in a series of residential compounds walled off from the rest of Moscow and guarded by the KGB (the Committee for State Security).

Ours, on broad Kutuzovskiy Prospekt across the Moscow River from the heart of the city, was typical: four high-rise buildings



on a large, grassy courtyard, secured by a high concrete wall. Manning two booths at the driveway and sidewalk entrance, KGB men in the gray uniforms of city police guard the compound around the clock. Several hundred foreign families live and work here, helped by scores of carefully vetted Soviet staffers — translators, drivers, maids, laborers, repairmen — who come and go freely. All other Soviet citizens are barred from entry; the whistles of the guards are enough to stop all but the most foolhardy — or the deaf.

I once saw a Red Army colonel almost pass out in fright when he inadvertently walked past the booth and was shrilly whistled down. Frozen in mid-step, he pivoted and scurried away without a backward glance like a soldier escaping fatigues.

Sometimes, it can be bullets, not whistles. In the autumn of 1980, several men burst from a taxicab and headed for a foreign compound entrance near ours. They died in a hail of gunfire from police who weren't trained to ask questions first. No one ever learned if they were trying to get in to see some paragon — or if they even knew that the compound was inhabited by slandering bourgeois pen-panglosses, as the Soviet press styles Western journalists.

At the same time, the guards seldom interfere when Soviets are personally driven or escorted on foot onto the grounds by foreigners. The guards stare harshly at their fellow citizens, and likely report those they can identify, such as well-known Moscow artists cultivating exotic alliances,

dering or disaffected intelligentsia or dedicated political activists.

Soviet staffers are regularly debriefed by KGB plainclothesmen on the comings and goings of their foreign employers, for whom they may have worked many years. The security forces, responsible for impeding, intimidating, and interfering with all foreigners in the country, aren't interested so much in the political views of bourgeois Americans, but in their personal traits, weaknesses, problems. Such information can be invaluable should the foreigners become active targets for reprisal by the gubeshniki, Russian slang for the secret police (drawn from the last two initials of KGB).

Foreigners' home and work telephones are usually tapped, as the clicks, whirs and ghostly echoes of one's own words coming back down the earpiece on routine local calls make clear. Sometimes, eavesdropping microphones have been found in ceilings and walls during renovations of living quarters. In our time there, one colleague, after years of trying, finally got permission to enlarge his quarters by adding an adjoining apartment to his own. He reported that when the dividing wall was torn down, close to a dozen microphones were found dangling from conduits in the demolished wall.

Foreigners' auto license plates were in colors opposite to the normal white letters and digits on black field of Soviet vehicles. A simple code assigned "K" to correspondents, "D" to diplomats, "M" to businessmen, followed by a country code of up to three digits (04 is any American-owned car). Thus, the Post's car was K-04-725, and any of the city's thousands of welsh-talkie equipped traffic cops could report its progress at a glance to central authorities.

The KGB supplements surreptitious surveillance with direct efforts at reeling in



foreign residents. KGB agents are like deep-sea fishermen trolling for their catch. They never know for certain when a strike will come — but they have a pretty good idea of what's down there and how to go about hooking it.

One Saturday the first month my family and I were in Moscow, the phone rang in the office and I answered.

"Hello," said a woman's breathy voice in Russian-accented English. "Are you the new correspondent, Mr. Kevin Klose?"

"Yes," I knew enough not to ask who she might be, but I hardly expected the Welcome Wagon.

"I knew your predecessor — and I would like to know you."

"Well," I replied with the caution of any newsmen, "perhaps we could meet sometime."

"I mean, I knew him," she replied angrily. "You know what I mean, don't you?"

"What?" I replied in astonishment. "And I want to make love to you as well."

"Wait a minute. . . . Wait a minute. . . . I cupped my hand over the receiver and asked my wife, Eliza, to pick up the extension in the next room.

"Would you tell my wife what you just told me?" I said.

"Is this Mrs. Klose?"

"Yes."

"Well, I'd like to make love to you, too."

We slammed the phone down. A few minutes later, she was back.

"You think I work for the KGB, don't you?" she spat out in offended tones.

"Lady, I don't think it."

Sounds too crude for sophisticated Westerners to swallow, doesn't it?

But some years later, after painstaking efforts by the secret police to set up the troll, a hook baited in similar fashion was taken by an American military attaché stationed in Moscow. Soviet security forces then reportedly tried to blackmail the hapless officer. He reported the incident and was hustled out of Moscow by the U.S. Embassy.

No matter how many open, official contacts a correspondent cultivates successfully, one must always be careful. One is never secure from the prying, interfering presence of the state; and a conscientious correspondent can never forget that Soviet sources must always be protected.

The safest, most comfortable place for routine conversations is often during walks through Moscow's parks. Routine calls to Soviet friends are made from pay phones several blocks outside the compound. The names of Muscovite friends are never mentioned at home — by any family member or to any guest.

There is no surprise when Soviet friends inconspicuously turn on the television while discussing ment supplies. And there is special laughter when the official press denounces a child's "magic alato" writing device as an espionage tool. Muscovites have another name for this aid to safe, silent conversation: They call it a "Soviet phrase book."

A call from an unknown Soviet interested in speaking with a correspondent usually leads only to cautious contacts spread over days, weeks, or even months, as the American tries to satisfy himself about the authenticity of the other person.

How to do that? The circle of trust is very small in a nation of 280 million where the secret police are everywhere. One checks around with other reporters, or with Russians whom one does trust. Or one meets several times with the other person in parks or on sidewalks for inconsequential talks that may eventually lead to meaningful insights into life in Russia.

Meanwhile, beware the KGB's Robert Tuth gambit. Tuth was completing the final week of his Moscow tour for the Los Angeles Times in June of 1977 when he accepted a parcel from a Soviet he knew as a friend. He was immediately seized by the KGB for allegedly possessing state secrets and finally released only after a long interrogation, parts of which surfaced later in the trial on trumped-up treason charges of Jewish activist Anatoli Shcharansky.

So never accept anything proffered as documents, papers, or similar materials.

Yet we all violated these rules. For despite all the strictures and inhibitions, trust has a way of growing, stretching and stretching in helpless accommodation to the most innocent-appearing friendship.

But in a police state, nothing is immune from the police. For even though a Soviet may come in friendship to an American correspondent, the KGB has immense power to coerce. Soviet citizens in betraying almost any relationship. No recent episode makes this more starkly clear than the Daniloff case.

Confronted with the Aug. 23 espionage arrest in New York of Soviet U.S. staffer Gennady Zakhurov, the KGB needed a swap hostage fast. The secret police took just seven days to set up Daniloff, a savvy American correspondent whose guard may have been down because he was in the final days of a second five-year tour in the land of his forebears.

The KGB cloaked its move well, using for the purpose a man Nick had met years before in Frunze, a Central Asian capital more than 2,000 miles from Moscow, and whom he considered a friend.

Moscow-based correspondents are luckier than reporters working in some other parts of the world. They face no bullets, no frontlines, no bombardment.

But like a beacon on a foggy night, the coordination and speed of this KGB attack on Daniloff clarifies some ambiguities of life in the USSR. There is justification, after all, for the apprehension that shadowy correspondents there, from time to time, as befell Nick Daniloff, there may be a kidnapping.

Kevin Klose, who was The Washington Post's Moscow correspondent from 1977-81, is Midwest bureau chief for The Post and author of "Ruhkio and the Russians: Inside the Closed Society."

© 1986 The Washington Post Co. All rights reserved.







## Another carve-up by Béjart

Mary Clarke laments a wasted opportunity at Covent Garden

THE Tokyo Ballet was at Covent Garden last week, paying its first visit as part of a big overseas tour. Unfortunately, they wasted five of the seven performances on a ghastly muddle of an extravaganza by Maurice Béjart from which it's impossible to judge the quality of the company's dancing.

Béjart in his time has carved up many a musical masterpiece. Now he's carved up the whole culture of Japanese theatre, he it Bunraku or Kabuki. He calls the piece *The Kobuki*, 47 Samurai, and has some sort of misguided notion of showing a youth in modern Tokyo, in the prologue, who then gets transported, in the succeeding nine acts, back into feudal Japan. The action is based on Kanadehon Chushingura, a popular Kabuki play involving much *seppuku*, but I defy anyone to make head or tail of the story or to identify more than three or four of the 18 named characters.

The programme notes help not at all; indeed, they confuse the issue. As for Béjart's own "production notes" they would qualify in their entirety for Pseud's Corner

and live up to his reputation for using his philosophical musings to justify banal choreography.

"In this piece," he tells us, "the symbolic art of ballet holds out its hand to Kabuki, the complete theatre, the perfect empire of erudition where myth rejoins everyday life."

What we see in fact is a terrible roil of elements from Japanese theatrical traditions with bursts of classical choreography as *kimono* are shed and ladies emerge in body tights and dance on points, at course.

The score by Toshio Mayuzumi (recorded by the Tokyo City Philharmonic) hangs away and the samurai add their yells to it. The bright designs by Nuno Corta-Real give a touch of Japanese landscape, Japanese lanterns.

As the young men Eric Vu-An (from the Paris Opéra Ballet) shows an elegant technique and exotic presence — Béjart has always had an eye for good male dancing — and I should like to see him in some of the great Nijinsky roles.

## How Kitchener relieved Toronto

Edward Greenfield explains why the city's symphony orchestra moved its recording centre out of town

THE Toronto Symphony Orchestra — now starting its latest European tour with five concerts in the British Isles — likes to boast of its place in a cultural centre unique in Canada and remarkable anywhere, a city with 32 theatres of various sizes, with national opera and ballet companies based there. Currently the orchestra claims a bigger subscription list of concertgoers than any other in North America, maybe the world.

Keeping up with the United States is always a vital aim in Canada. Over more than two years as music director, Andrew Davis has done his utmost to build up the orchestra's individual image, even next to top American orchestras.

With an eye to audiences of the future he had made quite a specialty of children's concerts. He will dress up as a lion for Saint-Saëns' *Carnival of the Animals*, as old father Bach for a terecentenary programme, or even as the modern Major General in a Gilbert and Sullivan concert.

It gets the orchestra talked about, and so it was, too, when in the late sixties the young Seiji Ozawa came to Toronto in his first international post. Andrew Davis likes to feel he had kept the legacy of Ozawa alive, but also that he has built on the work of Ozawa's successor as music director, the late Karl Böhm, who, as Davis sees it, tried to soften some of the edges and bring a more European quality to the orchestra.

Davis says of the Toronto sound: "I think this orchestra plays Mahler and Strauss with a great deal of voluptuousness, with string playing of tremendous colour and depth. That reflects not only his own work but that of the present concertmaster, Steven Stryker, who earlier held similar posts with the Royal Philharmonic, the Concertgebouw, and the Chicago Symphony — a unique achievement — before returning to his native Toronto."

The voluptuousness, Davis adds, is especially true "when you get them out of this hall," and he gestures around to the comfortable and beautiful Roy Thomson Hall opened three years ago. Like so many modern halls this one has brought acoustic disappointments. "It has a wonderful clarity," explains Davis, "but not a lot of warmth or singing quality."

That acoustic, along with that of the orchestra's previous base, Massey Hall, has had an important effect on its reputation. Its recordings — mainly on CBS — have failed to capture with any subtlety the quality of the Toronto sound, and that is where this month the orchestra is confident of a new breakthrough.

The latest record, with Andrew Davis, marks its first collaboration with the British-based EMI since



Karen Kohn, Frank Augustyn and Jeff Hyslop with (front) Andrew Davis and Brian Macdonald, at Edinburgh last month rehearsing for *The Soldier's Tale* by Stravinsky.

the distant days of Sir Ernest MacMillan. With Holst's suite, *The Planets*, chosen for the first new issue, EMI insisted that another hall had to be found.

So it was with the aim of producing a "sound spectacular" that the players migrated 80 miles or so along Lake Ontario to Kitchener, where another new concert hall has been built, with far more flexible acoustics. The whole suite had to be recorded in seven hours overall, a tight schedule, particularly in a new venue, but they did it.

No performing organisation in Canada is heavily endowed in the way of many in the United States, and if the Toronto Symphony boasts an exceptionally healthy budget, much of the credit must go to its general manager since 1982, Walter Homburger. Trained as an auditor, he became an impresario after the second world war, getting such artists as Horowitz and Rubinstein to play in Toronto, discovering and promoting the 14-year-old Glenn Gould himself (a Toronto native) before managing the orchestra.

It was Homburger who spotted Ozawa as a star conductor of the future, even though he was unable to keep him in Toronto for more

than four seasons. Over his ten years as music director, Davis has done remarkable work in refining the orchestra, notably in the string section, as I witnessed myself in ravishing concert performances of Strauss's late opera, *Daphne*, which defied all the problems of Roy Thomson Hall. Shrugging at my compliment Davis pointed out that "Strauss sounds so wonderful anyway," but he was not being fair to himself there.

In the British concert scene the present tour there is no Strauss killed, but Mahler's Ninth Symphony is being played and Stravinsky's *Intimations* prominently, another specialty.

Over 10 years Davis has given at least 16 weeks per season to Toronto, acting as a music director in an American rather than a British way, very much identifying with the orchestra. It has now been agreed that he will stand down in two years' time — he is anxious to do more work in Europe — but even then he will return for four weeks a year, and plans to keep up his Toronto home. As he says, "We've done too much good making together just to say 'That's it'."

He is Homburger who spotted Ozawa as a star conductor of the future, even though he was unable to keep him in Toronto for more

## A COUNTRY DIARY

on us as we went down towards Melbury Bubb. A Saxon called Bubba lived here end, a thousand years or so, he would surely recognise his old home at the foot of the chalk. There were the Manor House and faded buildings around a weedy yard, and beside our back, a graet, wooden, hip-roofed garra-ry once so common in the cornlands here. There it stands, massive timber upon seddla stonias, where the sixteen stone sacks of threshed grain were carried on threshing days, safe from rats and mice so long as the wooden steps were taken away at the end of the day. These granaries

have been defunct these thirty years but still inhabit some remote Dorset farmyards like the day-before-yesterday's ghost. Few folk come along these deep lanes to places like Melbury Bubb, as the visitor's book in the allot church shows, and they are better for neglect. Then we went on by thatched houses set in hollyhock gardens, across a huge pasture where Guernseys were still grazing. Soon we heard a distant call, and saw the farmwife on the hill, the cows move their own tundra homewards for afternoon milking and we went on under the trees where an overgrown bridleway produced "another battle with briars, nettles and convolvulus." We crossed a quiet undisturbed corner of England.

Roger A. Redfern

## BOOKS

### Peat and pantheism

By Erlend Clouston

A HOUSE BY THE SHORE, by Alison Johnson (Gollancz, £10.95). THE ROAD THROUGH THE ISLES, by John Sharkey (Wildwood House, £14.95). THE INTELLIGENT TRAVELLER'S GUIDE TO HISTORIC SCOTLAND, by Philip A. Crowl (Sidgwick, £12.95).

STRANGE things happen to you in the Outer Hebrides. Alison Johnson, digging the foundations of an extension to her hotel, is suddenly aware of "an unpleasant smell in the air... an overpowering odour of burning flesh." No, it isn't the seaweed casserole; Mrs Johnson learns later that a dog has been burned to death in someone's house. "I should mention that I had been seven miles upwind of the fire."

About the same time, on North Uist, Mr John Sharkey is crouched inside the chambered cairn at the Langaas stone circle, operating, for some mysterious reason, a gelger counter. "After 20 minutes exactly I received a violent kick in the kidneys that sent me flying against the rock."

No wonder Nato want to build an air force base out there. Mrs Johnson and all the rest of the island's "second sighters" can substitute for radar, while Mr Sharkey's druidic power fields will randomly electrocute Soviet saboteurs.

The Johnsons (men and wife) were drawn to the Hebrides for practical rather than mystical reasons. They wanted to run a superior kind of country hotel; Mr Johnson is good with his hands and Mrs Johnson cooks as well as digs. A House by the Shore is an account of their translation from dreaming Oxford post-graduate to hard-bitten proprietors of the only establishment in the Western Isles recommended in the Good Food Guide.

It seems to have been a famous and credible struggle. They rebuild their Georgian manse from scratch. They fish their first cocker out of a stream. They advertise, people come, they are a success. En route, they develop an expertise at arcanas island crafts like peat cutting, lobster potting, and (periodically) our friend "the singular Faculty of Seeing an otherwise invisible object" (Martio Martin, 1716).

Mrs Johnson logs all this with a brisk, readable, sensitivity. She is not afraid to admit that some people may consider them arrogant. She is not afraid to hint at a pantheistic spirituality that rather shows up the mealy-mouthed Church of Scotland, whose princi-

pled objection to the granting of a liquor licence to its premises withers in the face of 1,000 pieces of silver.

Towards the end there is an evident wistfulness for a new challenge. The reader can sympathise. It must be terrible for the Johnsons to wake up in the middle of the Hebridean night and realise they have devoted their lives to pampering the expensive tastes of vulgar aristocratic fishing parties, ghastly food pseudos, and free-loading media men.

Certainly poor Mr Sharkey, still shaking from his experience in the chambered cairn, takes one look at Scarsia House and decides that he had better take his scruffiness to "a more modest sitting place." It was probably the Johnsons' loss. In The Road Through the Isles Mr Sharkey, a former manager of the Institute of Contemporary Arts, reveals himself as a dedicated hunter down of neolithic detritus. He has tramped to several hundred between Barra in the south and Lewis in the north.

Mr Sharkey is scornful of the archaeologists, who sniff at "the notion that, in their day, ancient structures elaborated their own form of technical drive and overt functioning." It is something to do with magnetism. Unfortunately his publishers do their best to undercut Mr Sharkey's credibility with his reeder by letting through extraordinary howlers like Kilmartin for Kilmartin, the Orkney Islands, Noah's Arc (twice), "zenophobia" etc., alas, etc. Geometry looked suspect, but it's a nice word, meaning "division from configurations of handfulls of thrown earth or random dots."

The Intelligent Traveller's Guide to Historic Scotland has the odd linguistic hiccup too. What, for example, is "a typically nucleated Hebridean black house"? Philip A. Crowl hails from Annapolis, so this must be some kind of Annapolitan.

But Mr Crowl should not be teased too hard. The first half of his massive book (625 pages; 2lbs 12oz on the kitchen scales) unravels Scotland's history clearly and sympathetically, with cross references to the second half which is a gazetteer of the sites that best illuminate that history. He even awards stars, and one likes Mr Crowl all the more for awarding three to the Glenfiddich distillery to Eilean Donan castle's two.

For his next edition, however, he should know that at one stage Scotland had six, not five, universities to England's solitary pair. Fraserburgh's hour was brief (1595-1606) but need not be forgotten.

## ENGLISH BOOKS

Any UK-published book in print supplied at published price plus postage (allow £1.25 per book and any balance will be credited) or let us send you UK friends a book or Book Token for any amount in multiples of 25 pence (add 30p to cover card and postage).

Payment please by Sterling cheque or International Money Order.

### THE BOOKSHELF

17 High Street, Budleigh Salterton, E. Devon, EX9 6LD, UK.

## DEVIZES BOOKS

New books sent worldwide. All types, from single books to library supply. Mastercard/Visa accepted. Devizes Books, Mooney Market St, Devizes, Wiltshire, U.K.

### AUTHORS

Invited submit Manuscripts all types (including Poems) for book publication. Reasonable terms. STOCKWELL DEPT. 52 Ilfracombe, Devon. Tel. 0271 62657 (Ext. 1898)

## Limits of human resistance

By Alex Comfort

HIGH TECH HOLOCAUST, by James Bellini (David & Charles, £10.95).

THE human body is incredibly resistant to insult: for thousands of years it has coped with alkaloids in plants, oxalates, silylglucosides and carcinogenic poisons in vegetables, and smoke from fires.

At times the hazards have broken through: Ancient Rome probably suffered from chronic lead poisoning. With the Industrial Revolution, environmental risks grew — the mid 1800s are full of horror stories about alum in bread, lead and copper arsenite in paints, and lethal urban smog.

What justifies Mr Bellini's concern is not so much the appearance of a new problem as the escalation of an old one, brought about by three factors — the growth in world population, the multiplication of new materials with ill-studied properties, and the appearance of man-made radioactive isotopes. Overall there appears a very real risk that the ability of the ecosystem to resist human assaults is reaching its limits.

The book has evident faults. It is poorly organised, uncritical in some of its sources, scientifically wobbly in places (pyruvate is not an acid, for example, and neutrons are not stored in tissues) and readily brushed off as alarmist Green propaganda. But the issues it raises will not go away, much as commercial operators and harassed governments might wish that they would.

Every country in the industrial world is faced with a legacy of toxic dump sites and a steady accumulation of dangerous materials which it has no coherent policy

to handle. The recent debate on Chernobyl clearly showed that decision makers who should know better have still not grasped that nuclear waste and nuclear fallout pose risks which are new in kind.

They go on repeating that all powerful energy sources are dangerous: true, but after a ruinous natural gas explosion like those under-reported accidents cited by Mr Bellini, reconstruction could start next day. A medium nuclear accident could render Britain permanently uninhabitable.

Even the decommissioning of nuclear plants may prove more dangerous than their operation, since, as Bellini correctly points out, the materials in spent fuel rods are considerably more hazardous if released than a warhead explosion, and nobody has the slightest idea how to dispose of them. The record of expertise in this area is highly unimpressive.

Bellini's Jeremiah covers so many environmental threats that we risk being desensitised. Is the steady increase in lead load from car exhausts a cause of hooliganism? How many permitted food additives are actually poisonous? Will acid rain, the alternative to nuclear hazards if we insist on using cheap energy to the limit, destroy the ecosystem? And what about the increasing amount of live ammunition in medicine? The only thing he omits is the destruction of the ozone layer and the melting of the Polar ice caps.

We have to avoid being deafened, however, because many of the issues bear overstatement to get the mule's attention. Even

leaving aside the record of deliberate lying by the nuclear and nuclear-military establishment, governments which live by improvisation have shown that they will not listen to evidence which calls for expensive or unpopular measures.

The history of the official shuffle around the issue of cigarette smoking does not offer much hope that health considerations will weigh heavily with Mrs Thatcher or the Congress — still less, perhaps, with Third World governments who see our example and are desperate to attain something like our standard of living.

It is, in fact, difficult to know how the damage done can be undone. There are already thousands of tonnes of indestructible man-made radio-active material. Even as "clean" a project as a tidal barrage could compound problems of river pollution.

The answer, if there is to be one, has to lie in well-informed public pressure: well-informed not only in identifying real as against exaggerated risks, but also in accepting the need for higher costs and enormously reduced energy use, and a market preference for higher cost, uncontaminated food over cheaper and more convenient garbage.

A few electoral victories for Greens, and a massive increase in consumer militancy against delinquents, would seem the best hope, and to this Bellini's book contributes, though it could have been a little more sober and much better documented. One does, however, have to attract the mule's attention, so one must hope it is read in parallel with the next official anodyne.

## Boulez speaks

By Hugo Cole

ORIENTATIONS, COLLECTED WRITINGS OF PIERRE BOULEZ, trans Martin Cooper (Faber, £25).

ALMOST all Boulez's writings from the 1950s up to 1980 are included here; nothing, however, on electro-acoustic research at IRCAM, "since that would have involved making premature judgments about a venture that is not yet complete." Less than 50 pages of Boulez's own music, a short "appreciation" of Messiaen, and nothing at all on his contemporaries. This is in line with Boulez's overall policy: to clear the ground of unwanted lumber so as to preserve the utmost freedom of thought and action.

Boulez appears here in many roles: stimulating the specialists at Darmstadt seminars with subtle discussions of taste, aesthetics, and form; pouring scorn on traditionalists in sometimes quite vicious polemical articles; dropping up plans for an ideal musical state, end — most rewardingly — discussing Parafal, the Ring, Pelléas in essays full of original thought.

He calls as witnesses the writers he has chosen as his literary exorcisers — Baudelaire, Mallarmé, Proust, Musil, Char, among them — to give us fresh and fascinating perspectives on Wagner's operas.

Though he tells us that his overriding aim is to break down the wall that separates the artist from the public, his undisciplined scorn for those who don't share his tastes will not endear him to many music lovers. But whether we warm to Boulez is really immaterial — the fascination of these essays lies in the commentary they provide on his own work as man of ideas and man of action.

## MONTHLY BOOK CHOICE

The book club with a difference

We combine the services of a book club and bookshop for discriminating readers in far-flung places.

### HOW IT ALL WORKS

Simple! Each month the MBC Bulletin is sent to you (airmail if you are outside Europe). This describes at least 70 brand new books on many subjects — travel, fiction, biography, general interest, even paperback! Specialty reviewed each month is an outstanding fiction title by a top author (THE BOOK CHOICE). You can select ANY book in the Bulletin, BUT if we do not hear from you by a specified date, we automatically mail you THE BOOK CHOICE free of postal charges. For any other books you order we charge actual postage, with no package or handling fees.

### SPECIAL SERVICES TO MEMBERS

- Books sent with your personal greeting direct to friends or relatives
- ANY in-print book supplied on request
- Free search and quote for out of print or rare books
- Magazine subscriptions handled.

NO OTHER BOOK CIRCLE OFFERS ALL THESE BENEFITS!

### OUR GUARANTEE

MBC has been backed for many years by Bumpus, Haldana & Maxwell Ltd., International library supplier and bookseller. We guarantee a good service.

### JOIN NOW

To: MONTHLY BOOK CHOICE (3), OLNEY, BUCKS, MK46 4BN, ENGLAND.

Please enrol me as a member. I will pay for each book by ONE of the following methods.

(a) by Access/Visa (delete as appropriate)

Credit card No. ....

Expiry dated .....

(b) by maintaining a deposit account  
I enclose cheque/international money order/girocheque for £25/£30 as deposit, any unspent part of which you will refund to me on demand.

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

Signature .....

(I am over 18 years old)

**HOME THOUGHTS?**

Let our two GFA companies help you get the best return from the home you buy or the one you own.

### No home in the UK?

We can help. GFA will find the home you want, the money to buy it and a tenant to rent it. Buying a house to let — using a mortgage lender's money — is the best investment you can make.

### Or own one already?

Then why not ask us for a remortgage quotation? This can be to raise extra capital for investment and, most probably, save on your present mortgage costs. If the home is in Surrey, try GFA Property Services for an estimate of rent income — and lower property management fees.

\*\*\*

Graham Fuller Associates Ltd/GFA Property Services Ltd  
NEW ADDRESS  
1 Phoenix Court, Guildford, Surrey GU1 3EY, England

### Finance

Graham Fuller Associates Ltd provides a specialised mortgage service to assist expatriate house purchase.

- Mortgages up to 95%.
- No surcharges for overseas employment.
- Permission to let.
- No penalties for early redemption.

On our NEW expatriate mortgage schemes terms are flexible and rates are lower than those of most major building societies. Other financial services include pension transfer from previous UK employment, UK tax advice, and offshore investment.

### Houses

GFA Property Services Ltd provides complete house purchase and property management services.

- Property selection
- Mortgage applications
- Advice on buying/selling
- Inspections and repairs
- Landlord/tenant relations

\*\*\*

FREE BOOKLETS! Return the coupon or telex for details TODAY.

**GFA**

GFA EXPATRIATE SERVICES  
1 Phoenix Court, Guildford, Surrey GU1 3EY, England  
Telex 946240 (Ref: 19001230) Telephone: (0483) 85787

- ☐ Please send me more details of:
- ☐ House investment and Property Services
- ☐ Remortgage Loans
- ☐ Pension Fund Transfers
- ☐ Other

Name: .....

Address: .....

GW/14



